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NATO Accused of Obstructing Disarmament

AU2410210888 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Oct 88 p 2

["He" commentary: "Who Is Slowing Down Disarmament?"]

[Text] The Committee of Foreign Ministers from the Warsaw Pact states convened in Prague at the beginning of the week. The talks there focused on the implementation of the peace and disarmament initiatives that were presented by the Political Consultative Committee in July 1988. The same topic was discussed at the meeting of the special disarmament commission of our countries in Budapest. The main points of emphasis were the current state of the Vienna consultations between the Warsaw Pact and NATO on a mandate for negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and conventional weapons, suggested by us, and other confidence-building measures in Europe.

In short: We keep on the ball now that disarmament has been initiated with the INF Treaty. Unfortunately, this cannot be said of the other side. On the contrary, people there are raising their voices, saying that this is already too much. They do not want to give up the arms race.

NATO Secretary General Woerner, for example, makes it easy for himself. He simply distorted matters and wrote: As far as conventional armed forces and weapons are concerned, the Warsaw Pact "has not submitted a single proposal (!)."

At the same time, Deputy U.S. Defense Secretary Taft called on the NATO allies to "increase defense expenditure." The "reason" he gives is again the hackneyed lie about the threat, the alleged necessity of "deterrence." By the way, Taft receives support from his chief in the Pentagon, Carlucci. He told the Zurich paper WELTWOCHE: In some cases, "a reduction of weapons can only be achieved by deploying weapons."

Unfortunately, such absurd theories are drawing positive responses from the FRG Defense Ministry. According to the ARD television magazine "Panorama," efforts are being made by top officials in the defense ministry to "compensate for the reduction of intermediate-range missiles by deploying nuclear weapons that could reach Soviet territory." This means "compensation" and modernization, instead of disarmament.

And then NATO Secretary General Woerner comes and lets the cat completely out of the bag. First of all, preconditions have to be created before further disarmament steps can be taken: The East "must introduce a policy that is based on Western values."

It is clear what he means. However, it is also clear that such a strong attempt at political blackmail has nothing in common with reason and realism, and is doomed to failure. We stick to our view: Disarmament must continue, confrontation must be reduced. Today, peace can no longer be achieved through arms buildup against each other, but it must be jointly agreed on the basis of equality and equal security.

Vienna Follow-Up Activities, Comments Reviewed

Economic Forum Proposed

LD2110140488 Prague CTK in English 1256 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Vienna Oct 21 (CTK correspondent)—The realization of the Czechoslovak proposal to hold an economic forum in Prague would correspond with the needs and interests of all Europe, Ambassador Frantisek Dolezel stated here today.

The head of the Czechoslovak delegation to the Vienna Follow-Up Meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) devoted his address to the plenary session to questions linked to the twelve proposed follow-up actions of the CSCE process, and particularly the proposal to hold an economic forum in Czechoslovakia. He emphasized that Czechoslovakia has always regarded the need to hold talks on follow-up actions in the spirit of constructive cooperation, with good-will, without confrontation. Therefore, with regard to the interest of other countries, it has proposed a combined, compromise solution.

The ambassador confirmed that Czechoslovakia stands for the whole program of actions as proposed by the neutral and nonaligned countries, and fully agrees with Austria's delegate who has stated that the proposed twelve actions must be understood as one comprehensive whole.

Refuting arguements of some critics that the forum would only duplicate the work of international organizations, Frantisek Dolezel stressed that the forum, which would discuss such issues as the legal aspects of joint ventures or convertibility of currencies, would certinly bring new outlooks on East-West relations and the needs of their development.

Bulgarian Views Chances

AU2010202888 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 19 Oct 88 p 5

[Telephone Interview with Lyubomir Petrov, head of the Bulgarian delegation to the Vienna CSCE talks, by Boyko Pangelov: "The End—In November?"—date not given]

[Text] Some people say that no news is good news. Should this also apply to the absence of more detailed information on the proceedings of the Vienna Conference of CSCE member states? As is known, a "technical interruption" of the regular session was announced during the summer, after the resumption of which, however,

the conference was expected to close in October 1988 with the adoption of a final document. So far, however, there are no signs indicating that this expectation may become reality. In order to learn more details on the results achieved in the Austrian capital and on the remaining, unresolved questions, Boyko Angelov, a representative of our editorial board, conducted the following telephone interview with Lyuben Petrov, head of the Bulgarian delegation:

[Angelov] Have we definitely missed the opportunity for the meeting to end as early as October 1988?

[Petrov] Yes, we can positively state that this opportunity has been missed. The Western delegations should be blamed for it, because of their behavior and excessive demands, which do not consider the golden rule of the all-European process—the balance of interests. In contradiction with the efforts of the socialist countries and of the coordinators who are trying to coordinate mutually acceptable texts, certain Western delegates began to "revive" some of their already rejected proposals. We can say that the election campaign in the United States has also contributed to the missed opportunities. The behavior of the U.S. delegation indicates that prior to 8 November (Election Day in the United States—RABOTNICHESKO DELO editorial note) one can hardly expect it to agree with the adoption of final documents at the conference.

[Pangelov] Are the unresolved questions really that numerous?

[Petrov] The unresolved questions can be reduced to a few and we could agree on them within a few days—provided that the West manifests goodwill and refrains from forcing its own views and interests upon its partners. Our countries are ready to accept the draft of the neutral and nonaligned countries on the military aspects of security with one clarification only—that confidence measures should extend to the independent activities of the air force and naval forces. The NATO member countries intend to introduce over 15 corrections to this draft, some of which affect its very essence. The Bulgarian delegation submitted a proposal to accept the draft document of the neutral and nonaligned countries on the second "basket" as well, with only one or two corrections, but the West did not agree. The socialist countries today are ready to accept the draft in its present form, but the West does not agree. Actually, concerning the problems of this "basket," differences exist among the Western delegations themselves, on the one hand, and between them and the neutral and nonaligned states, on the other hand.

[Pangelov] We are now coming to the most important question: To what degree has the work on the separate baskets been accomplished?

[Petrov] Each of these baskets contains a variety of new topics for discussion. The concept of the human dimensions of the Helsinki process, which encompasses the total spectrum of human rights and cooperation in the humanitarian sector, is new. The implementation of this concept will be accomplished through the mechanism of cooperation, which, as its most important element, will include a conference on human rights expected to be held in three stages. Numerous Western delegations are inclined to accept the proposal that the third and final stage of this conference should take place in Moscow. However, the difficulties stem from the U.S. delegation. A follow-up of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe has been agreed upon. The second "basket" contains several coordinated agreements on the development of cooperation in the economic, scientific, and technical sectors, in the spheres of trade and ecology. For the first time, ecological issues play an important role in a document pertaining to the all-European process.

Results which exceed everything so far achieved in the 13-year old development of the Helsinki process were achieved within the framework of the third "basket." These results surpassed even our most optimistic expectations prior to the Vienna meeting. The "ceiling" of commitments assumed in the humanitarian sector has reached an unprecedented level.

[Pangelov] Could you tell us whether our Bulgarian delegation is continuing to put forward its proposal to host a forum on questions on environmental protection?

[Petrov] Our candidacy has won wide recognition. Nevertheless, certain Western delegations have not yet determined their stand on this proposal. Meanwhile, Switzerland has also volunteered to host this conference. The question will be resolved on the basis of the distribution of forums following the Vienna meeting: a total of 12 conferences are planned.

[Pangelov] It is asserted that considerable progress has been achieved in the consultations of the 23 countries on the preparation of a mandate for the negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and conventional arms in Europe.

[Petrov] Nearly all basic elements of the mandate for the aforementioned negotiations were already agreed upon. Two questions are still open— the questions of the geographic zone and the connection between the 23 countries (Warsaw Pact and NATO member states) and the all-European process. However, it is expected that mutually acceptable solutions may be found on this matter as well. Among the coordinated texts, there is also one which envisages the negotiations in question to start in 1988, but this presupposes that the Vienna meeting should end before the negotiations, since they are an integral part of the all-European process.

[Pangelov] How do you evaluate the hitherto achieved successes and the remaining unresolved questions? What is your prediction regarding the closing date of the meeting?

[Petrov] It is difficult to answer this question, after so many predictions did not come true. A real opportunity exists that the meeting may end during the second half of November, provided that in the West, or, at least in certain Western countries—to put it more precisely—realism should prevail.

Negotiations 'Excessively Prolonged'

LD1810161888 Prague CTK in English 1453 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] Prague Oct 18 (CTK)—"In our opinion, the Vienna follow-up meeting should conclude as soon as possible so that two new forums could start before the end of this year—talks on the reduction of armed forces and conventional arms in Europe and talks on confidence- and security-building measures and disarmament in Europe (the so-called Stockholm 2)," Dusan Rovensky said here today.

Addressing both Czechoslovak and foreign journalists at today's press conference here, the spokesman for the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry stressed that 90 per cent of the final document has been agreed on, which shows that a great deal of responsible work has been done. "In the remaining talks all states participating in the Vienna follow-up meeting should proceed in a constructive manner in the interest of a speedy conclusion of the meeting. However, we have to state with grave concern that the negotiations are being excessively prolonged," Dusan Rovensky said.

"We think that the tactics of delay applied by some Western delegations is based upon an unrealistic presumption that further concessions, particularly in the humanitarian sphere, will be gained from our countries. I want to emphasize that a balanced compromise has been reached during the talks of the Vienna follow-up, which is worded in a document of non-aligned and neutral states. This fragile balance of interests of all 35 countries cannot be unilaterally upset by maximalist demands of some Western delegations, mainly in the humanitarian sphere," he said.

In connection with follow-up actions of the Vienna meeting, proposed by the non-aligned and neutral countries, Dusan Rovensky pointed out the Czechoslovak and West German initiative to convene an economic forum and an economic conference. "The proposal by the non-aligned and neutral states envisages two stages of the event. This leaves the possibility of its division between Czechoslovakia and the FRG open. That is why we are surprised that head of the U.S. delegation in Vienna Mr. Zimmerman on October 7 reiterated USA's negative attitude towards the follow-up event. He said that if the action is really to take place, the United States will give consent only to Bonn," Rovensky said.

Speaking of the 43rd U.N. General Assembly, the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry spokesman said that the general debate was characterized by a better, more constructive atmosphere for dialogue. "This should be regarded as a consequence of improving relations between states and a consequence of indisputable progress in the settlement of tense situation in world regions of crisis. It is an important fact that the authority of the United Nations as the most significant international organization has grown as well as the authority of its secretary-general which has been so apparent in the very hotbeds of international tension in the recent period," Dusak Rovensky stressed.

The Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry spokesman further said that the authority of the socialist countries is proved by the fact that mainly their initiatives influenced the course of the dialogue. He stressed that the Czechoslovak proposal to create a zone of confidence, cooperation and good-neighbour relations on the line between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO states has attracted considerable attention of the member-states.

"A positive course of the general debate reflects in our opinion positive changes in international relations, growing awareness of the international community that problems of the armament reduction, prevention of war threats, economic and ecological cooperation, as well as cooperation in the humanitarian sphere are pressing," Dusan Rovensky concluded.

USSR's Kashlev Comments

AU2510104088 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 22 Oct 88 pp 1, 5

[Jozef Janto Vienna dispatch: "The United States Against Europe"]

[Excerpts] At the beginning of next month, 2 years will have elapsed since the ministers of foreign affairs of 33 European states, the United States, and Canada opened the CSCE follow-up meeting in Vienna. [passage omitted]

In spite of pronounced shifts in the positions of the socialist countries, including those of the SR of Romania, several disputed issues still remain to be resolved in all three areas or baskets, as they are called—in the security, economic, and humanitarian fields. In the third basket, for example, no substantial headway has been made because of the maximalist demands of some Western states. Surprisingly, it is not the religious issue, on which agreement has essentially been reached, or the questions of travel and family reunifications that are problematic, but certain aspects concerning the formation of monitoring groups that would monitor compliance with the aims of and commitments established

under the Helsinki Final Act in individual countries. In this regard, several countries place emphasis on bilateral relations and on events that would follow up on the Vienna meeting. However, the United States, for example, seeks to legalize under the cloak of monitoring groups, structures operating independently of official authorities. Simultaneously, it insists on its demand that 1 to 2-day meetings of the 35 states be held in this case. Another unresolved issue is the so-called freedom of communications. The West—and here, again, primarily the United States—conceals under this name methods that would depart from the framework of cooperation and incite passions, as is the case, for example, with Radio Free Europe broadcasts. [passage omitted]

The United States would also like to prevent the holding of several events within the framework of the third basket, that is, human rights. Specifically, it has raised objections to the holding of a conference on humanitarian questions in Moscow. We have asked Yuriy Kashlev, head of the Soviet delegation at the Vienna follow-up meeting, for his opinion on this issue. He said that the United States is opposed to everything proposed by the socialist countries, which is inadmissible because it is tantamount to a diktat: "The current difficult phase into which the meeting has drifted must be resolved, and we will tenaciously fight for the holding of the humanitarian conference in Moscow," the Soviet ambassador stressed. We will do so, he added, also because the majority of countries, including West European countries, support the conference.

Asked about the prospects for the conclusion of the Vienna meeting, he replied that, as far as the working out of the mandate for the talks on conventional disarmament is concerned, this work could be completed at the talks of 23 Warsaw Pact and NATO states in a few weeks' time. The same holds true for the Vienna meeting at large: "We are prepared to resolve issues at a fast pace to make it possible to adopt the final document in a few weeks." However, two concluding phases remain to be completed: The coordinators must agree on the finalization of the texts of the document for all three baskets, and it is also essential to reach agreement on all 12 follow-up events that have been proposed: "We are in favor of their taking place, Western Europe is in favor of their taking place, only one country is opposed—the United States, which demands their reduction by one-half," Y. Kashlev said in conclusion of our talk.

"Hatred" of Albanians in SFRY Condemned

AU2510102788 Tirana ATA in English
0730 GMT 25 Oct 88

["The 17th Plenum of the CLY and Yugoslav Crisis"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, October 25 (ATA)— Under the above title, the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT carries in its today's issue an article, which says: The 17th plenum of the CLY [LCY] held its proceedings some days ago. This plenum attracted the attention of the public opinion and political circles abroad, both because of the grave crisis that has Yugoslavia in its grip and is unprecedented in Europe, as well as because of the dangerous political tendencies manifested in that country, particularly recently, that may be followed by numerous repercussions.

In the first place they arouse worry among the peoples of Yugoslavia itself, among the numerous nations and nationalities that are united and live under the same roof, being afraid that the rafters supporting it fall down. They arouse worry among their Balkan neighbours, who have suffered so much from the nationalist disputes and expansionist policies in their region. They arouse worry even among the other European countries who know quite well that no one profits if the Balkans is menaced to be turned again, if not into a powder keg, into a zone of disputes and unrest.

The economic policy of Mikulic government, the successive reforms and measures imposed by the IMF and other foreign creditors, not only did not mitigate the economic indices but further worsened them. Inflation was expected to reach 95 percent by the end of the year, but since now it is 217 percent, the real income of the working people fell by 13.5 percent as compared to last year, foreign debt has exceeded 21 billion dollars, unemployment is amounting to nearly two million people and the living standard has fallen to the level of 20 years ago.

The economic crisis, the difficult situation created for the working masses has also aggravated the political situation at home, it is augmented the distrust in the party and state steering organs, that are being accused of inability, sloth, even of corruption just as there have augmented the national disputes among different nations and nationalities in Yugoslavia. [sentence as received] The bursting out of these conflicts, which were not restrained through fierce criticism in the press and different meetings and forums alone, but instigated by some set circles of Serb nationalism and chauvinism became the target of the mass manifestations in streets, created a very tense situation at home. There were questioned policy and economy, special cadres and whole leaderships in republics and regions, the constitutional rights of nations and nationalities, on whose basis is set up federal Yugoslavia, etc. They go so far as to speak of a third Yugoslavia, of a danger of civil war and the establishment of the state of emergency. It were these dramatic developments, foreboding nothing good, that made the 17th plenum of special importance. There were even some who called it historical. All expected and desired that the 17th plenum of the CLY, the supreme political forum of the country and its leading staff lay the finger on the wound and adopt those stands that would introduce Yugoslavia on the correct road of coming out from crisis, that would strengthen coexistence and broken unity of its peoples.

But what's the result? Much was spoken of crisis. And all accepted that the situation both economic and political and that among nations is very grave, although different opinions were expressed regarding the causes of this situation. A part laid the stress on the economic factor, the great crisis, as the fundamental cause that disorganized all the components of Yugoslav society; some others, particularly the representatives of Serbia, see the evil in the Albanian nationalism and separatism or better in the fact that Serbia has not established complete domination on the autonomous regions of Kosovo and Vojvodina.

But the letout from this all-sided crisis, the clamorous changes that would remedy the situation did not appear.

The plenum approved a document on the tasks to "overcome the grave economic, political, and social situation at home," but it contains more words than real solutions. At the plenum it was spoken on reforms as in the field of economy, where the door is opened to the private shareholder enterprises of foreign capital, but their authors too are not convinced of their success. [sentence as received] Likewise the plenum decided to adopt reforms in the activity of the party, even to change one third of the members of the CC of the CLY, but how will it influence in solving the country's troubles? [sentence as received] What was not treated, or better to say was not confirmed, is that there can be no improvement of economy in Yugoslavia without a democratic political life, without reconciliations and understanding among its nations, without national equality and social justice, without mutual tolerance and confidence between them, without preserving and strengthening federalism that is the foundation the Yugoslav edifice is based on so far.

One thing was clearly manifested at the 17th CLY Plenum, the concern of the Yugoslav nations and nationalities to safeguard the rights they won through the antifascist war. They fear that the attacks of the Serbian nationalism and its aims to impose on all the Serbian hegemony will bring about the elimination of these rights.

To be fair, a good part of the participants at the 17th CLY Plenum, probably the majority, tried, albeit in a coded language, to stigmatize the Serbian nationalism and point out the danger it poses to the stability and the future of the country. The plenum even adopted some precautionary measures to this end. Such was the refusal

to give the vote of confidence to the representative of Serbia, Dusan Ckrebic. They in Serbia realized the political content of this measure. TANJUG described it as "lack of confidence for the policy of Serbia directed against the CL of Serbia and its chairman, Milosevic, to whom Ckrebic is a close associate."

Will the drive of the circles of Serbian nationalism and chauvinism come to an end? Will it retreat or will it persist in its aims and take revenge on their opponents? The turn of the events will show this. But, the manifestations organized in Kosovo Polje and in Serbia shortly after the plenum, the speeches held by some Serbian leaders do not omen fine weather.

The critical attitude of the plenum towards the Serbian nationalism, be it timid, could have been effective if it would not have been downgraded by the concessions made to its policy to Kosovo and by the fact that Serbia was given a free hand to act in that province as it wishes. The plenum mostly backed the Serbian thesis, echoed the already stale views that the Kosovars are the culprit of the crisis, that the Serbian and Montenegrin population there is being subjected to the Albanian terror, etc. This attitude at the plenum is practically a compromise, which urges the Serbian nationalism for new actions not against the alleged Albanian irredentism and separatism, as it is said, but against the Albanians in general, against their rights as part of the federation, against the autonomous status of the province, against the fundamental achievements gained through fightings and sacrifices, just like all the other peoples of Yugoslavia.

The socalled "Kosovo drama," which is presently been shown on all the Yugoslav stages is not "the drama of the migration" of the Serbs and Montenegrins, but of their deception and manipulation, of their transformation into attacking units of a blind chauvinism. The Kosovo drama is primarily the drama of the Albanian population, of its continuous maltreatment and persecution. It should never be forgotten the genocide exercised against the Albanians since 1945 by the military administration, by the Rankovic supporters, etc. No one must ignore the fact that to this day hundred thousands Albanians are forced to emigrate to Turkey or as far as United States because of different kinds of persecutions they experience. It is a fact that under the pretext of the fight against irredentism, over 3,000 youths have been put into the Yugoslav prisons from 1981 until today, that more than 12,000 others have been dismissed from work or expelled from schools. They are all Albanians.

The situation in Kosovo has continued to deteriorate in direct proportion to the brutal, oppressive, and discriminating interventions of the Serbian authorities in Belgrade, to the manifestations by the incited crowds of the Serbs and Montenegrins, which wander around Kosovo wanting murders and blood.

However, in the face of all these, Suvar is not ashamed to claim that "the statements regarding the inequality of the Albanians in Yugoslavia should be denounced." The following question might be asked: Since the Albanians are equal with others, can they stage demonstrations and call for "the elimination of the Serbs," "for the removal of Milosevic," and launch similar slogans as "the others" do?

The measure for the assessment and interpretation of what is correct or wrong should normally be one for all, either for the Serbs or for the Albanians. However, it does not happen like this.

But why is nobody sentenced when in their demostrations the Serbs call for arms, for blood, for murdering the Albanians, or even for march into Tirana? The Serbs can sing whenever and wherever they want songs for Kralj Petar and Draza Mihajlovic, for Chetniks and Domobranci [members of army of Croatian wartime puppet state], but in Macedonia suffice that an Albanian sings a wedding folk song and he is considered a nationalist, an irredentist, a separatist and is put to jail.

Why so much clamour is made about the boycott of the lessons by the Serbian students and children in Kosovo, while no one protests against, no one raises the voice against the imprisonment of 130 Albanians in Macedonia, who, in conformity with the Yugoslav Constitution, wanted the lessons be given in the Albanian language?

Can the fight against irredentism and Kosovo drama be settled by unleashing the most bestial hatred against the Albanians, as was the case with NIN magazine, which on October 9, 1988, in the most wicked way, insulted all the Albanian women who have allegedly "been transformed into a sexual object and a mechanism for reproduction," by means of which the ideologists of "the greater Albania" seek to occupy Yugoslav territories?" There is no justice, no humanism in such brutal passions, in such chauvinist fever. They show of racism, and apartheid.

The compromises always breed evil. This has been proved by history. The crisis and the problems of Yugoslavia cannot be solved by denying the Albanians of their rights, the whole cannot be saved by sacrificing a part of it. Only a coherent attitude, responding to the interests of all the nations and nationalities in the Federal Yugoslavia, can serve as a basis for a way out of the crisis.

In Kosovo the Albanians and the Serbs have lived for centuries together, have succeeded in creating a realistic and mutually acceptable coexistence, have become aware of the fact that the disputes and grudges, which have not been missing, led to grave consequences for both sides. By nourishing the disputes and hatred, the impatience and intolerance, the Serbian leaders in Belgrade seek to deviate this course, in opposition to the modern times, to the lofty interests of the peoples of Yugoslavia. They cannot understand that they cannot go far on the basis of hatred.

The truth is that over 2 million Albanians live in Yugoslavia, they live in their ancient lands, having a powerful, resistant, national identity, with a great spiritual strength and broad historical experience. You could call them a nation or a nationality, could make up as many linguistic, political-philosophical terms as you wish, to describe them. But they remain what they are and as many as they are, the third as for the population number in the country, larger than some other nations in Yugoslavia which have been granted the right of state or republic. [sentence as received] The facts, the reality cannot be ignored. Yugoslavia cannot ignore itself. It represents a multinational state, including the Albanians as well. Since Yugoslavia does not represent a unique nation, all the nations and nationalities should either be equal or there can be no equality to any one.

Being not satisfied with the results of the 17th plenum, the Serbs have actually turned again towards Kosovo. The demonstrations began again. They did not want to listen even to the official representative of the Presidency of the CC of CLY. On the contrary, threats were heard: by the demostrators infected with nationalism and chauvinism, and by the Serbian leaders. A certain Jevtic said in Kosovo Polje on October 20 that "the constitutional changes would create possibilities to make Kosovo an integral part of Serbia in every point of view." Another, Borislav Jovic, chairman of the Assembly of Serbia, said on October 21 that "Serbia is ready to provide as many militia as it is necessary to keep in Kosovo." Things cannot be said more clearly in regard to what is being aimed at, to what is being prepared.

This situation cannot fail to worry the other countries, especially the neighbouring countries and socialist Albania in particular. First of all, we are directly interested in everything linked with the life and work of our brothers living in Yugoslavia. Secondly, in the demonstrations in streets and in the Belgrade press they are also referring in a provocative manner to socialist Albania.

The developments inside Yugoslavia have also their international aspect. It is common knowledge that it has received and receives huge material aids both from the West and East, without mentioning the plentiful political support for it. But in all these relations of generosity, its friends have seen only the stand of the Yugoslav state on international problems, particularly those towards blocks, whereas the events at home have not attracted attention and they have not thought that they also may evolve even in directions that run contrary to the aims for which they have never spared money. They for instance considered the destabilization of Yugoslavia as a possibility that might be caused from abroad, but never as a result of the economic decay and national disputes. They have neglected or have not desired to see the growth of great Serb nationalism and the directions the country might assume even in the international relations in case its hegemony and domination were established.

In a way or another, the Balkan countries have expressed their worry over the unforeseen aspect that Yugoslavia may assume as result of great Serb wave that has burst out there. Their preoccupation derived not only from the fact that the events of Yugoslavia may bridle that slow and very tiring process for rapprochement of the Balkan countries, for augmenting cooperation and strengthening friendship, which found its concrete expression at the meeting of the foreign ministers held in Belgrade this year, in all those positive initiatives that were designed. But it also derives from that known historic truth that a destabilization of Yugoslavia, as for its position and weight in this peninsula, may also lead to the upset of the equilibriums established here, which are very delicate, and it is not difficult to upset and lead to such consequences that no one in Europe and world desires.

Unfortunately these remarks and criticism are often considered as expression of the old and known routine of inter-Balkan relations and one has not thought that time evolves and nothing marks the time, that these relations are already inseparable part of European and world relations.

We hope that the sound and realist forces, those who understand the dangers menacing Yugoslavia and who do not lack even in the ranks of Serbs, will awake and will bridle the offensive launched by great Serb chauvinism. But this belongs to the future. All those who love Yugoslavia, who want peace and security in the Balkans and Europe, wish that this be not a distant future.

FRG Secretary Signs Technical Agreement

Talks Conclude

AU2110194488 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GM 21 Oct 88

[Text] Following talks about technical cooperation between the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the FRG, an agreement on technical cooperation between the two countries was signed today in Tirana.

The agreement was signed for the Albanian side by Sokrat Plaka, deputy minister of foreign affairs, and for the German side by Siegfried Lengl, state secretary at the FRG Ministry of Economic Cooperation, and Friedrich Kroneck, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the FRG in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

The signing ceremony was attended by Farudin Hoxha, minister without portfolio, and by the delegations of the two countries.

Seen Off by Officials

AU2310193888 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 23 Oct 88

[Text] Siegfried Lengl, state secretary at the Ministry of Economic Cooperation of the FRG, left our country today.He was seen off at Rinas airport by Robert Koli, deputy minister at the Ministry of Finance and the State Planning Commission; Bujar Toka, directorate director at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and other comrades. Friedrich Kroneck, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the FRG to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, was also present.

During his stay in our country, the German state secretary was received by Niko Gjyzari, chairman of the State Planning Commission, with whom he exchanged views about the development of relations between our two countries in the trade and economic field. He also visited social and cultural centers in the districts of Tirana, Kruje, Durres, and Berat.

Alia Receives Brazilian CP Leader

AU2210201688 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 22 Oct 88

[Text] Comrade Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee first secretary, today received Dunea Aguiar, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Brazil [title as heard], who is visiting our country. He participated in the activities connected with the 80th anniversary of Comrade Enver Hoxha's birth.

A cordial discussion on questions of common interest took place during the meeting, which was marked by the fraternal spirit of solidarity and internationalist cooperation characterizing the relations between the two parties. The meeting was also attended by Agim Popa, director of the Foreign Directorate of the AWP Central Committee.

During his stay in Albania, Comrade Aguiar held talks with Comrade Foto Cami, AWP Central Committee secretary, and visited various cities and districts.

Zhivkov Praises Women's Role at Conference

AU2410112788 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 21 Oct 88 p 1

["Speech by Comrade Todor Zhivkov," general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and State Council chairman, at the 20 October Fourth National Conference of the Movement of Bulgarian Women in Sofia]

[Text] Dear comrades,

I have been instructed by the BCP Central Committee Politburo to attends this session and to most cordially greet you, the participants in the Fourth National Conference of the Movement of Bulgarian Women, and to wish for you fruitful and efficient work.

—In you, we greet the activists of the contemporary movement of Bulgarian women, worthy heirs of those who connected the struggle for socialism with the women's cause.

—In you, we greet those who give birth to, raise, and educate the future Bulgarian citizens, in whose hands we place our hopes, longings, and instructions.

—In you, we greet the modern Bulgarian woman, active participant in constructing socialism in the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and the one who invests her vocation of mother and educator, creator and worker in all areas of our life.

The party and our people are deeply grateful to the Movement of Bulgarian Women for its patriotic contribution to and great merits in asserting the prestige of the Bulgarian woman and her civil positions, rights, and responsibilities in modern Bulgarian life. I believe that the Fourth Conference of the Movement of Bulgarian Women will enrich its course with new ideas, visions, and approaches. This is required by the internal development of the Movement of Bulgarian Women and the present and future needs of our society.

It is well known that **the Bulgarian socialist society is at an important stage of its development.** We are changing the image of socialism in the People's Republic of Bulgaria, as well as its economic, sociopolitical, and intellectual life. We are changing man.

In accordance with the principles of the July Concept we are forming a new type of social community, a process which is leading toward the construction of a vital and active **civil society.** This will lead to profound changes **in the public organizations themselves,** through which people are implementing their social-creative activity. This will also lead to changes in the **public movements,** which are ever more consolidating as specific forms and mechanisms of developing the independent activity of the people in their work and living places.

I am pleased that **the Movement of Bulgarian Women is making efforts to keep abreast of this process.** This is evident in your activity in villages and cities, as well as in your conference's documents and discussion.

Simultaneously, it is evident that **the Movement of Bulgarian Women must renew itself at the present stage,** so that it will acquire new rights and responsibilities, and reach new heights.

The well-known 1973 decision of the BCP Central Committee Politburo had an important role. It corresponds to the past stages. Today the problem **is no longer renewing the approaches vested in it,** but forming a new set of instruments, premises, visions, and approaches, thus creating the appropriate **concept** for the Movement of Bulgarian Women.

Preserving its status as a collective member of the nationwide organization of the Fatherland Front, the movement will independently develop in all directions. It must develop in accordance with the new essence and needs of the **territorial communities,** and most of all, with the needs of the municipalities and settlements. The Movement of Bulgarian Women will also find its place in **the labor collectives** of industrial production, in agriculture, and everywhere where the material wealth of Bulgaria is being created.

The movement will ever more actively implement its goals and tasks in the spheres of science, culture, and education.

The Movement of Bulgarian Women will implement its social goals and tasks through the Fatherland Front, the Komsomol, the trade unions, and other public organizations and movements.

In short, **the Movement of Bulgarian Women will be supported and will find a broad field for its activities in all spheres of life, among all social strata, and throughout all social structures.**

All this stems from the **unique and irreplaceable role of the woman in social life,** a role which is being developed and asserted today.

This characteristic of the movement also presupposes certain changes **in its place in the system of our public organizations:**

The Movement of Bulgarian Women can no longer develop only on the territorial principle. It must have its cells everywhere, wherever Bulgaria's material and intellectual progress is taking place. Some changes in its structure will be beneficial in this light.

The proposal of the movement's leadership to change the name of the organization to **Committee of Bulgarian Women** is correct. Such a name is justified both in view of its tasks and by the essence of the Movement of Bulgarian Women. It is also justified in view of the participation of Bulgarian women in the international women's movement and your participation in the peoples' struggle for peace and progress.

Taking into consideration the growing role of Bulgarian women under conditions of restructuring, it is necessary to pay special attention to the work in **municipalities**, where it would be natural to form **municipal women's councils** to develop the Movement of Bulgarian Women among the population. It is also natural to form **everywhere commissions on work among women** in the spheres of material production, science, and culture.

Thus, if the Movement of Bulgarian Women is to assume new roles, it must work in a more independent and assertive fashion.

It is and must be a partner and opponent, and an opponent and partner of the state, economic, and public organs and organizations. It must also be and will be a useful partner and opponent of the Fatherland Front. Social problems are women's problems, and women's problems are important problems of the entire society.

At the present stage of our society's development, it is especially important **to enhance the prerogatives of the Movement of Bulgarian Women, and its engagement in the legal defense of women and their achievements and needs.**

It is purposeful to create a **commission on women's needs** at the National Assembly, in which the activists of the Movement of Bulgarian Women, public figures, representatives of the scientific and artistic intelligentsia, economic figures, and so on, will take part. The commission will take part in solving all problems related to woman's activity in our society—as a mother, worker, and creator of material and intellectual assets.

This will be a commission which will facilitate the implementation of state policy in an exceptionally important sphere—the woman's sphere.

Comrades,

Allow me to greet you again and to express our deep respect for your contribution to constructing the new society and your determination to work ever so selflessly for our motherland's benefit and future.

To all of you, and through you to all Bulgarian women, I wish personal happiness and new successes in labor, in educating your children and grandchildren, and in your patriotic and humane activity.

Energy Chairman Interviewed on Problems

AU2110201788 Sofia BTA in English 1836 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Sofia, October 21 (BTA)—In future, too, the Bulgarian energy will stake on the use of all local resources and on the development of nuclear energy, said to a BTA reporter Mr. Nikola Todoriev, chairman of the "Energy" Association.

Here, the issue of reduction of energy expenses per production unit has been posed ever more urgently. Concurrently, the Bulgarian energy, being one of the biggest pollutants of the environment sets as a pivotal task the cleaning of the atmosphere of sulphur and nitrogen compounds and of fossil wastes in coal combustion, Mr Nikola Todoriev generalized.

The country's energy is developing in the conditions of limited local energy resources. In a specific use of over 5 tons of reference fuel per capita Bulgaria lines next to countries like Sweden, Belgium, Great Britain but in contrast to them this has been achieved by constant increase of the imported energy resources, which in 1980 were two times greater than the 1970 ones. The built-up capacities meet 91 p.c. of the country's needs of electric energy.

The matters discussed at the national conference "Condition and Prospects of the Energy Provision" which ended here today, were related to the absorbtion of the energy resources and the development of energy generation, the reduction of the electricity consuming productions and the meeting of the tasks, underlying in the recently adopted programme for energy development up to the year 2005.

'Great' Potential Seen for Leningrad Cooperation

AU2410131788 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 23 Oct 88 p 2

[Grigor Lilov report: "People's Republic of Bulgaria-USSR—Practical Unity of Action Between Oblasts," with statements of Yuriy Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the CPSU Leningrad Oblast Committee, and Panteley Pachov, first secretary of the BCP Plovdiv Oblast Committee]

[Text] The visit to Bulgaria of Yuriy Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the CPSU Leningrad Oblast Committee, ended on 22 October in Plovdiv with the signing of a joint protocol on developing and strengthening mutual cooperation between Plovdiv and Leningrad Oblasts.

Yuriy Solovyev told a RABOTNICHESKO DELO representative that this is the beginning of a new stage in the practical unity of action between the two oblast party organizations and two regions.

—During our visits to numerous enterprises and labor collectives in Plovdiv Oblast, Yuriy Solovyev noted, we could establish how great our united, joint potential could be. I can sincerely tell you that until now we could not fully utilize its possibilities. Of course, mutual cooperation between the two regions is a long-standing tradition. However, now the task is different—to leave behind the framework of emotions and enter the sphere of practical and specific actions. Great possibilities exist for joint work in the areas of food industry, machine

building, electronics, and so forth. We could help each other a lot in implementing our supply programs, better supplying the market with consumer goods, and improving the people's standard of living.

—The Leningrad party organization has adopted its own program, called "Intensification 2000," and the Plovdiv party organization—"Technologies 2000." Both programs are intended to last until the end of the century. How will they enrich each other and supplement each other's approaches toward their implementation?

—The leaders of several major economic trusts and institutes—the "Energomash" chemical concern, the world famous "Yofe" Physical Institute, our new electronics and data processing trust, and so forth, came with us to Bulgaria. The visits toyour enterprises showed in practice that the economic leaders can find a common language. They have a common interest in developing mutual technological and scientific-technical cooperation in a priority manner.

—Now 65 Leningrad and 48 Plovdiv enterprises and organizations are mutually cooperating, Panteley Pachov, first secretary of the BCP Plovdiv Oblast Organization, said. We are working together on the implementation of more than 100 scientific-technical programs and tasks. Regardless of the great quantitative dimensions, the protocol that we have signed marks the beginning of qualitative changes in practical cooperation between Plovdiv and Leningrad Oblasts.

Both programs are constructed on the basis of introducing scientific-technical progress, which is the main condition of improving the production capacities and achieving the economic and social goals of society. Therefore, together with the Soviet comrades, we devoted special attention to joint work in this area, the rapid development of which, together with the uniting of our common potential, will allow us in the future to prove in practice the deep humane essence of our system.

Politburo Approves Results of Jaruzelski Visit

AU2510090388 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 22 Oct 88 p 1

[BTA report: "At the BCP Central Committee Politburo—Higher Stage in Bulgarian-Polish Cooperation"]

[Text] The BCP Central Committee Politburo has received information on the friendly, working visit to Bulgaria by Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the Polish People's Republic, which took place on 30 September 1988, at the invitation of Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and State Council chairman.

The Politburo highly assessed the talks between Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Wojciech Jaruzelski, which took place in a cordial atmosphere and in a spirit of fraternal friendship and total unity of positions on all matters discussed. The results of the meeting showed the principled coordination of the goals and trends of restructuring the socioeconomic sphere taking place in the two countries. The agreements which have been reached mark a higher stage in developing Bulgarian-Polish cooperation in accordance with the tasks which each country is solving under the present conditions.

The Program on Developing Cooperation Between the BCP and PZPR in the Spheres of Politics, Ideology, Science, and Culture Until 2000, which was signed by the two first leaders, contains new trends and practical approaches of joint activity in these spheres. Its implementation will contribute to strengthening and expanding Bulgarian-Polish relations and to accumulating a new international experience in constructing socialism.

The Concept on Developing Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation Between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Polish People's Republic Until 2005, which has also been signed by the two leaders, reflects the readiness of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Polish People's Republic to strengthen bilateral integrational processes as an integral part of socialist economic integration among the CEMA member countries. The implementation of this document will facilitate further and more active cooperation in structure-determining economic branches through specialization, production sharing, and utilizing efficient forms of joint production activity.

The Politburo fully supports the assessment, made at the talks, of the growth of positive tendencies in international relations and the gradual assertion of the new political thinking. The People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Polish People's Republic unreservedly support the peace initiatives of the USSR and the other fraternal socialist countries aimed at strengthening peace, understanding, and cooperation among nations. The two countries will also actively work in the future to implement the coordinated foreign policy course of the Warsaw Pact member states, which is aimed at overcoming the threat of war and creating a world without weapons and violence.

The BCP Central Committee Politburo approved the agreements reached during the talks and the documents which have been signed, and recommended to the competent party, state, and economic organs and public organizations that specific measures be adopted for further strengthening friendship and cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Polish People's Republic.

Foreign Minister Mladenov Departs for Belgium

AU2510084188 Sofia BTA in English 0812 GMT 25 Oct 88

[Text] Sofia, October 25 (BTA)—Mr. Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, left on an official visit to Belgium at the invitation of Mr. Leo Tindemans, minister of foreign affairs of Belgium.

Consultations With Nicaragua Held

AU2410203488 Sofia BTA in English
1854 GMT 24 Oct 88

[Text] Sofia, October 24 (BTA) Consultations between the ministries of foreign affairs of Bulgaria and Nicaragua were held here. The Nicaraguan delegation was led by Mr. Victor Hugo Tinoco, deputy minister of foreign affairs.

Mr. Victor Hugo Tinoco was received by Mr. Petur Mladenov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and minister of foreign affairs, and by Mr. Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the CC of the BCP.

During the consultations, which were held on the Bulgarian side by Mrs. Mariya Zakharieva, deputy minister of foreign affairs, the two sides discussed questions of the Bulgaro-Nicaraguan relations and exchanged opinions on current international issues.

Negotiations are the only possibility for regulation of the situation around Nicaragua. Before leaving this country Nicaragua's deputy foreign minister Mr. Victor Hugo Tinoco reiterated before journalists the readiness of the Sandinista Government to continue the dialogue with representatives of the counterrevolutionary groups. Obviously this is a gesture of good will, of political maturity because as it was said by the guest the plans of the contras are broken. The desire of the contras for continuation of the military aid given by the U.S. is condemned, and the U.S. are the main cause for the situation in Central America, for the situation around Nicaragua.

Mr. Victor Hugo Tinoco sees prospects for the negotiations soon, which are influenced by the election campaign in the U.S. High assessment was given to the cooperation between Bulgaria and Nicaragua and gratitude was expressed for the solidarity and support rendered by the entire Bulgarian people to the just struggle of the Nicaraguan people.

Argentine CP Leader Fava Completes Visit

AU2010201788 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian
1600 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] The visit to Bulgaria of Athos Fava, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Argentina, has ended. He met with Comrades Milko Balev and Dimitur Stanishev. The guest was briefed on the achievements and forthcoming tasks in implementing the July Concept of the BCP on the profound restructuring of all areas of social life in Bulgaria. The importance of the renewal processes in the socialist countries for further developing the struggle for peace and social progress and activating the dialogue and cooperation among all forces interested in solving the global problems of development was stressed during the talks. Confidence was expressed that relations between the two parties will continue to develop on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Stoichkov Receives Guinea Labor Minister

AU2010194788 Sofia BTA in English
1836 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Sofia, October 20 (BTA)—Mr. Grigor Stoichkov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers received today Mr. Jean Kolipe Lama, member of the Comite Militaire de Redressment National (CMRN) and minister of labour and social affairs of Guinea [title as received]. They discussed the possibilities for joint activities in Guinea which would provide conditions for resolving of socio-economic issues of mutual interest. The two sides expressed satisfaction with the establishment of the Bulgaro-Guinean association and outlined its first tasks.

Agreements Signed With UK Firms in London

AU2110134088 Sofia BTA in English
1315 GMT 21 Oct 88

["Bulgaria, Britain: More Flexible Cooperation Forms"—BTA headline]

[Text] London, October 21 (BTA corr.)—An important step in the development of new forms of economic and industrial cooperation between Bulgaria and Great Britain has been made. Thus were assessed the results of the completed working visit of the Bulgarian trade-industrial delegation headed by Mr Krustyu Stanilov, chairman of the Transport, Agricultural and Building Technology Association.

The protocol signed with the Perkins Engines Company envisages the establishment of an engineering centre in Bulgaria and training of Bulgarian specialists in Great Britain. With joint investments in Bulgaria it is envisaged to organize cooperated production of low fuel consumption Perkins diesel engines for cars and for industrial aims. Part of the production will be exported to third countries.

Agreement in principle for development of more flexible forms of trade-industrial cooperation corresponding to the latest achievements of techno-scientific revolution was reached with the Chloride Company, too. Through joint financial and technological participation, works for sodium-sulphur car batteries will be built.

At a meeting with the leadership of the English BKS Company the plans for its business activity in Bulgaria was discussed. With the participation of the company as a main shareholder, the BKS Industrial Holding Company Limited Society has already been founded in Bulgaria.

The company, which belongs to Balkankarimpex, marked an exceptionally dynamic increase in production and selling in Great Britain during recent years. They have increased by 243 percent in 1987, compared to the previous year. The establishment of the society will provide for reinvestment of a part of the profit in Bulgaria order to increase the production of electric trucks for local needs and the external market.

'Unauthorized' Gatherings Banned in Prague

AU2410115488 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Oct 88 p 2

["ADA, CTK"-signed report: "On the Development of Our Capital; Session of the City National Committee of the Capital of Prague"]

[Excerpts] Prague— On Thursday [20 October] the session of the Prague City National Committee was devoted to the key problems of the further development of our capital. Zdenek Horcik, mayor of Prague, welcomed at the session a delegation of the Prague CPCZ City Committee which was led by Miroslav Stepan, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee, and Vaclav Jirecek, minister of interior and the environment of the Czech SR. [passage omitted]

The deputies approved an edict revising and amending the principles of protecting monuments and using communication links and public places in the capital. In view of the frequent disturbances taking place in this area, the edict includes a ban on the holding of unauthorized activities and gatherings.

[Prague VECERNI PRAHA in Czech on 20 October on page 1 carries a 350-word "AVA"-signed report on the above plenary session of the Prague City National Committee. The passage on the aforementioned edict reads: "The plenum discussed a number of important documents, among them an edict amending the principles of protecting monuments in the CSSR capital of Prague. The edict restricts the right to hold public gatherings on extraordinary and festive occasions in parts of Prague designated as city conservation areas to agencies of the National Front and organizations associated in it."]

Daily Warns Against Demonstrations

AU2410130888 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Oct 88 p 1

[Editorial: "Yes to Legal Order"]

[Excerpts] Ours is a constitutionally governed state, at the heart of which lies socialist humanism. [passage omitted] A constitutionally governed state must be based solely and exclusively on lawfulness, on social relations that are governed by good laws, laws that are, of course, strictly observed and implemented.

Some people are asking today whether it is correct to speak in the same breath about the restructuring of society and the deepening of socialist democracy on the one hand, and about a stricter observance of the law, and even about coercion and sanctions, on the other. Let us give a straightforward reply: It is correct and necessary. None of us lives in a vacuum. While everyone enjoys wide-ranging and steadily developing social, political, and personal rights and freedoms, he is also subject to obligations toward society, the state, and his fellow citizens.

To use plain language, the development of socialist democracy has nothing in common with a state of anarchy. Only the observance of laws and the strengthening of socialist lawfulness guarantee the full use of democratic rights and freedoms. [passage omitted]

Violations of socialist lawfulness are sometimes incorrectly confined to their most grievous form—crime. Admittedly, crime is a serious social problem requiring great attention. However, there are also other serious shortcomings in the observance of the legal order, which in the final analysis literally torpedo our democratization efforts and slow down progressive social processes. [passage omitted]

Let us not pretend that there exist no individuals in our society, and perhaps even groups of people, who eagerly await chaos, for a suitable moment to fish in torpid waters, people who are eager to line their pockets and get a cushy job in which they have to work as little as possible. Now they may be beginning to grasp that they have miscalculated, because it is becoming apparent that democratization and public access to information are among the most effective weapons against parasitism, petty bourgeois arrogance, abuse of function, and against disorder of all kinds. [passage omitted]

There is yet one more, not very numerous, group of citizens who thinks that laws do not apply to them, that they are not obliged to maintain order in our country. These people are disguising their aims with words like restructuring and democracy, while their deeds completely contradict these words. Comrade Milos Jakes mentioned them at the 10th session of the CPCZ Central Committee. These citizens seek to destabilize our society, want to sow unrest among the working people and particularly among students and apprentices, and to throw doubt on the very foundations of socialism. Their activity, strongly backed from abroad, was reflected in the breaches of public order in Prague in August and September.

These days we are also witnessing attempts to abuse our national day of 28 October for antistate provocations. Their instigators are even spreading appeals for the overthrow of the existing social order, for a "transfer of the government;" even threats of terrorist actions are to be heard. There cannot be the least doubt about the counterrevolutionary essence of such intentions.

Attempts to systematically break the social order cannot continue without the proper response. Laws apply to all citizens. This is why, in the two aforementioned cases of provocations, the security forces took effective action to restore order, and it should be known that they will do so again in the future, if need be. They will do so in the

interest of honest people and in the interest of democracy. We are saying it clearly and emphatically— we will not allow anyone to disrupt the Republic. [passage omitted]

'Unlawful Assembly' Planned

LD2410173188 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1600 GMT 24 Oct 88

[Text] Celebrations marking the 70th anniversary of the foundation of the independent Czechoslovak state will culminate this week with assemblies in cities and villages, organized by the bodies of the National Front, and affiliated political parties and mass organizations. Following today's rally in Bratislava, a rally of working people, young people, people of the capital, and those and of the North Bohemian region will be held in Wenceslav Square in Prague, where the Czechoslovak Republic was proclaimed 70 years ago.

However, some individuals and groups want to make ill use of the 70th anniversary of the foundation of the Czechoslovak state for their antisocialist goals. They disseminate various provocative proclamations, including appeals to participate in an unlawful assembly in Prague, which they intend to organize in the capital the day after the gala celebration. The convening of this assembly has been forbidden by the Internal Affairs Department of the Prague First District National Committee, in line with the Czechoslovak legal code and the Prague National Committee decree. All antisocialist actions are organized in close cooperation with foreign, central, and emigre groups, with substantial help from the Western media.

Czechoslovak citizens demand that the relevant bodies carry out necessary measures to halt the abuse of the important anniversary of our peoples, abuse carried out through antisocial actions, and to act against all those wishing to interfere with the dignified course of the 70th anniversary celebrations. The Czechoslovak legal code applies to all citizens.

5 Groups To Demonstrate 28 Oct

AU2410163188 Paris AFP in English 1616 GMT 24 Oct 88

[Text] Prague, Oct 24 (AFP)—Five opposition groups, defying an official ban, said Monday they plan "to demonstrate peacefully" here Friday to mark the 70th anniversary of the founding of Czechoslovakia.

In a letter to Prague city authorities, the groups rejected as "illegal and unconstitutional" a strong warning issued Saturday [22 October] against demonstrations on October 28.

One of the five, Charter 77, said in a separate statement: "We strongly deny accusations by (the Communist Party daily) RUDE PRAVO that we are trying to overthrow the existing social regime...or have threatened to carry out terrorist acts."

The other four groups are: Children of Bohemia, Democratic Initiative, Independent Pacifist Association and Association for Friendship with the United States.

Meanwhile police were out in force Monday in downtown Prague.

Relatives of several Independent Pacifist members arrested Saturday in northern Bohemia said they still had not returned home, although the legally-allowed 48-hour detention period had expired.

Police reportedly arrested between 30 and 40 militants in a raid on a meeting.

Charter 77 Urges 'Reconciliation'

AU2510123988 Vienna ORF Teletext in German 1215 GMT 25 Oct 88

[Text] Prague—The CSSR civil rights movement Charter 77 has called for national reconciliation.

On the occasion of the upcoming anniversary of the founding of the CSSR on 28 October 1919, Charter 77 members stated that this day could be the beginning of redress for injustices committed and of national reconciliation. At the same time they criticized the ban issued on demonstrations by five opposition groups. No one must prevent the citizens from freely voicing their opinions, the Charter 77 declaration says.

Jakes Chairs National Front Presidium Session

AU2110172288 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Oct 88 p 1

[CTK report: "Central Committee Presidium of the CSSR National Front Convened; Role of National Committees Discussed; Proposals on Labor Code Changes and Amendments; So Far No Decisive Turn in the Implementation of the Document on Activating the National Front and the Organizations Rallied There"]

[Excerpt] Prague—The Central Committee Presidium of the CSSR National Front, chaired by Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the Central Committee of the CSSR National Front, discussed at its Wednesday [19 October] session the document on the role of national committees in the development of socialist democracy, and the tasks resulting for it from the comprehensive restructuring of our economic mechanism.

The Presidium expressed the conviction that the implementation of the document would contribute toward accelerating the changes currently taking place in the

economic and social spheres and the democratization of the life of our society. In this connection the Presidium recommended that the National Front agencies, and the organizations rallied in it, intensify their cooperation with national committees in the spirit of the document to enhance its impact. [passage omitted]

Commission for Amendment of CPCZ Statutes Named

AU2110175488 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Oct 88 p 2

[Unattributed report: "The CPCZ Central Committee Commission for the Amendment of the Party Statutes"]

[Text] Prague (r)—As we have already reported, the 10th CPCZ Central Committee session, in addition to the Central Committee's standing commissions, also approved the Commission for Formulating the Program of the CPCZ, and the Commission for the Amendment of the CPCZ Statutes. Today we publish the composition of the Commission for the Amendment of the CPCZ Statutes:

The chairman of the commission:
Karel Hoffmann

The members of the commission:

Jirina Bartackova	Vincent Magyarics
Mikulas Beno	Ladislav Matousu
Jan Bouchal	Josef Mevald
Jan Brozman	Vasil Mohorita
Jozef Durica	Jaroslav Molek
Jana Fajmonova	Ludmila Muzikarova
Vratislav Frk	Vasil Pacuta
Jan Gajdosik	Vladimir Patek

Commission chairman: Milos Jakes
Commission leadership:

Ladislav Adamec	Gustav Husak	Jozef Lenart	Vasil Bilak
Alois Indra	Viliam Plevza	Zdenek Ceska	Ignac Janak
Josef Riman	Jan Fojtik	Jaroslav Jenik	Lubomir Strougal
Jaroslav Hajn	Josef Kempny	Karel Urbanek	Karel Hoffmann
Vladimir Kunovjanek			

Other commission members:

Mikulas Beno	Ivan Knotek	Svatopluk Potac	Valeria Cizmarova
Vladimir Kocandrle	Zdenek Rada	Frantisek Graif	Karol Kovac
Rudolf Rohlicek	Josef Haman	Milan Kozak	Jan Selecky
Frantisek Hanus	Matej Lucan	Vaclav Sipek	Vladimir Herman
Josef Mevald	Michal Spak	Zdenek Hlozek	Antonin Mlady
Miroslav Stepan	Zdenek Horeni	Vasil Mohorita	Eugen Turzo
Miloslav Hruskovic	Radomir Nenadl	Bohumil Urban	Jaroslav Jeneral
Miroslava Nemcova	Frantisek Valenta	Marie Kabrhelova	Ladislav Novotny
Josef Valenta	Josef Kadlecek	Jaromir Obzina	Marcela Vokrouhlikova
Jaroslav Kase	Petr Peterek	Miroslav Zavadil	Jaroslav Klicha
Frantisek Pitra	Margita Klimesova	Jindrich Polednik	

The chairman of the commission:
Karel Hoffmann

Jaroslav Hajn	Justina Radimska
Rudolf Hegenbart	Stefan Rybar
Marie Hutterova	Jan Selecky
Miloslav Charvat	Marie Skorinska
Ignac Janak	Miroslav Slavik
Jan Janik	Vaclav Smitka
Frantisek Kaderabek	Ondrej Spaling
Jaroslav Klicha	Vaclav Sipek
Peter Kneppo	Milan Spacek
Ivan Knotek	Miroslav Stepan
Karel Kovar	Vladimir Trvala
Hana Kozesnikova	Karel Urbanek
Anna Kretova	Vaclav Vaclavik
Vaclav Kuryl	Miroslav Zajic
Otto Liska	

CPCZ Program Commission Members Noted

AU2110172088 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Oct 88 p 2

["(r)"-signed report: "CPCZ Central Committee Commission for the CPCZ Program Elaboration"]

[Text] Prague—In our Wednesday [19 October] issue we published the names of members of the CPCZ Central Committee's Commission for the Preparation of the CPCZ Statute approved at the party's 10th session of the Central Committee. The composition of permanent CPCZ Central Committee commissions will be published by ZIVOT STRANY. Today we publish the list of members of the CPCZ Central Committee's Commission for the CPCZ Program Elaboration.

Comparison of Secret-Ballot Personnel Changes

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 19 October on page 1 carries a CTK report on cadre changes adopted at the CPSL Central Committee meeting in Bratislava on 18 October. The Bratislava PRAVDA report has been compared with the CTK version published in the 19 October East Europe DAILY REPORT, page 6, revealing the following variations: Paragraph three, first sentence reads in Bratislava PRAVDA: Comrade Gejza Slapka became the chairman... (changing name "Gejza Slapak" to "Gejza Slapka") Last paragraph, only sentence reads in Bratislava PRAVDA: The CPSL Central Committee entrusted Comrade Anton Blazej to be the head of the Science and Technology Commission and Comrade Jan Selecky to be the head of the Commission for the Internal Life of the Party. (adding name "Jan Selecky" and title "head of the Science and Technology Commission")

250,000 Private Computers Said in Czech SR

AU2410155888 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 21 October on page 4 carries a 450-word article by Dr Bohumir Stedron, candidate of sciences, and Eng Vladimir Smejkal, candidate of sciences, entitled "The Entrepreneurial Spirit of the 'Program' Cooperative." The authors report the founding and describe the activities of "Program, a small production cooperative" that intends to develop and distribute software for personal computers, carry out repairs on these computers, organize programming classes, and, in general, provide consulting services for owners of personal computers. The article mentions that, according to unidentified sources, "there are now around 250,000 home and personal computers owned by individuals in the Czech SR alone."

CSSR Currency Now Usable in Tuzex Shops

AU2110170988 [Editorial Report] Prague PRACE in Czech on 13 and 19 October and Bratislava SMENA in Slovak on 19 October report on changes in the operation of Tuzex, a special network of shops selling goods for foreign currency, which took effect in September. Prague PRACE in Czech on 19 October on page 4 carries a 150-word "hai"-signed report entitled "In Tuzex for Korunas." The report notes that "since September it is possible to use Czechoslovak korunas for purchases in Tuzex shops." Whereas initially this possibility was limited to the purchase of "Commodore and Logo Star personal computers," more recently it has been expanded to include "attractive electronic goods from Japanese manufacturers," such as color television sets, video and tape recorders, and hi-fi sets. According to a Tuzex official quoted in the report, Tuzex charges Kcs6 for every "Tuzex koruna."

On 13 october, in the "Yesterday You Asked—Today We Answer" column, on pages 1 and 4, PRACE carries a 1,200-word report in which Finance Ministry, State Bank, and Tuzex officials reply to readers' questions related to Czechoslovak currency and exchange rate policies.

One reader refers to the newly introduced possibility of using the Czechoslovak currency for some purchases in Tuzex, and to the 6-to-1 exchange rate, and asks whether this "means that this exchange rate is recognized as official and generally valid, and that it will be possible to legally purchase Tuzex vouchers at the bank, for example?" An unnamed official replies that the "free sale of Tuzex vouchers in banks is not planned for the time being" and that the 6-to-1 "coefficient" has been determined by the Ministry of Foreign Trade by "taking into consideration the level of retail prices in domestic market organizations." In a related question, another reader asks whether money deposited in "Tuzex" accounts can be issued to finance travel to nonsocialist countries. An unnamed official answers negatively.

Bratislava SMENA in Slovak on 19 October on page 3 carries a 900-word interview with Eng Aleksander Balla, director of Tuzex's sales section for Slovakia, by Tatjana Rundesova entitled "Testing Unexplored Paths." In the interview, the place and date of which are not given, Balla mentions the introduction of two new services by Tuzex as of this September. Owners of foreign currency accounts, he says, may now order through Tuzex merchandise "that we are not able to offer in our shops." According to Balla, Tuzex charges 5 percent of the cost of the article for its mediation. In addition, Tuzex is also said to be organizing "1-day shopping trips to selected department stores in the FRG, as well as trips with other designations."

Kempny Terms CSSR Nuclear Power Plants 'Safe'

AU2110172188 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Oct 88 p 2

[CTK report: "Utilizing Possibilities To Expand Cooperation; J. Kempny Receives Delegation of Austrian Deputies"]

[Excerpts] Prague—Josef Kempny, chairman of the Czech National Council, received a delegation from the Federal Council of the Republic of Austria headed by its chairman, Erwin Koestler, in Prague on Wednesday [19 October].

He stressed that the good-neighborly relations between the CSSR and Austria show no open problems and are a good example of contacts between states with different social systems. We are bound primarily by the efforts to provide a secure peace in Europe and to resolve other global problems of mankind. Much has been done to expand mutual cooperation in culture and sports, but further steps must be undertaken to expand the opportunities for the people of our two countries to get to know each other even better, Josef Kempny said. He devoted attention to economic collaboration and trade exchange, stressing the need to enrich them with new progressive forms, such as effective production cooperation, the establishment of mixed enterprises, joint business ventures in third markets, etc. [passage omitted]

The Austrian deputies were interested, for instance, in the CSSR's economic cooperation with the EEC countries; in desulphurization; and in the safety of Czechoslovak electric power plants. Josef Kempny assured the Austrian guests—in whose country there exists widespread concern about the construction of the Temelin and Mochovce power plants—that the safe operation of the two plants is a cardinal issue for us. The discussion also touched on transportation issues between Prague and Vienna, the establishment of cultural centers in the two cities, and other topics. [passage omitted]

New Czech SR Party Committee Organized

AU2010183888 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Oct 88 p 1

[Editorial: "On the Establishment of a Committee for Party Work in the Czech SR"]

[Excerpts] One of the most significant decisions adopted by the 10th CPCZ Central Committee session was to establish a Committee for Party Work in the Czech SR. This has been, so to say, a "burning" issue for quite some time. Many Communists in the Czech lands have been pointing out the asymmetry within the party, due to the existence of a territorial, republican party organization in Slovakia. They have been demanding a solution, saying that (in their view) a party agency should be set up in the Czech SR to deal with party work connected with the elaboration of various national and regional tasks (similarly to the Central Committee of the Slovak Communist Party, the CPSL).

The Central Committee has taken these views into account. In setting up the committee, it proceeded from Article 20 of the party statutes (dealing with the party's makeup according to territorial and production principles), and from the new demands placed on our party by the restructuring process in our society and by the development of democracy within the party. [passage omitted]

Our editorial office has been receiving letters, particularly from the younger generation of Communists—more than 50 percent of the CPCZ members joined the party after 1970—asking (with the CPSL in mind) about the historical roots of the asymmetric party structure. [passage omitted]

Let us recall that a bureau for directing party work in the Czech lands was set up by the Central Committee as far back as November 1968. [passage omitted] This bureau was dissolved in May 1971, obviously without comprehensively considering all the circumstances.

The establishment of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech SR means that a body has now been set up which, like the CPSL Central Committee, will deal with issues of party work that are linked with the elaboration of national and regional tasks, in harmony with statewide and society-wide interests. The committee will direct and coordinate the work of Communists in national, state, economic, and social agencies and institutions—a task which so far has been carried out in the Czech SR by the CPCZ Central Committee. [passage omitted] The management of regional, city, district, and municipal party committees will continue to remain within the jurisdiction of the CPCZ Central Committee.

The new committee, headed by Chairman Karel Urbanek, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, has two secretaries and a total of 16 members. The elected members include leading officials of state and social agencies in the Czech SR, and leading secretaries and other party officials from all regions of the Czech SR. The committee is now forming a smallish (but essential) apparatus, to which CPCZ Central Committee staff have been detailed. For its own needs, the committee will also have the use of certain departments of the party's Central Committee. The committee itself has two departments—one for political-organizational and ideological work, and the other for economic and social policy.

The new party committee should also have a corresponding control body. The next session of the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission is expected to elect a commission to carry out the party's control and auditing activities in the Czech SR.

The basic solution of the republican organization of the party's structure (bearing in mind the experience acquired) will become part of the amended party statutes, which will be submitted to the 18th CPCZ Congress. [passage omitted]

The new party body will direct and coordinate the work of Communists in the Czech National Council, the Government of the Czech SR, and other institutions of the Czech SR. Its powers will include submitting proposals to the Central Committee on the promotion of the staff of the Czech SR to higher party and public functions; and it will also be responsible for the cadre policy. Of course, within the framework of the activities assigned to it, the committee will also be checking on the fulfillment of resolutions adopted by the party's Central Committee.

Among other things, the very establishment of a Committee for Party Work in the Czech SR has created conditions enabling the agencies of the party's Central Committee to concentrate better on conceptual issues and a more effective management of work in the party as a whole. [passage omitted]

New Czech Youth Union Auditor Elected by Ballot

AU2010182288 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 15 Oct 88 p 2

["MF"-signed report: "Auditor by Ballot!"]

[Text] Prague—At its session yesterday [14 October] the Czech Central Auditing Commission of the Socialist Youth Union released its chairman, Petr Rosecky, and

then conducted elections by secret ballot. There were two candidates: Roman Chmelar, the 30-year-old released chairman of the all-enterprise committee of the Socialist Youth Union in the LIAZ [Liberec auto works] state enterprise in Jablonec nad Nisou; and Antonin Vorlicek, a 32-year-old economic department head in the track maintenance section of the Northwestern Track Administration of the Czechoslovak State Railroads. After introducing themselves to those present, the two candidates acquainted them with the line they intended to pursue, and then replied to questions. Antonin Vorlicek won the election by secret ballot, thus becoming the new chairman of the Czech Central Auditing Commission of the Socialist Youth Union.

West Slovak Committee Names New Chief Secretary
LD1910222288 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] Today in Bratislava, the CPSL West Slovak Regional Committee discussed increasing the initiative and matter-of-factness of ideological work. Taking part in the meeting were the following members of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidiumz: Jan Fojtik, secretary of the party's Central Committee, and Ignac Janak, first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee. The regional committee released chief Secretary Ondrej Saling from his post and elected Ondrej Kvaka in an open ballot.

It was noted at the deliberations that the regional party organization is using a broad range of forms of ideological work which are developing an informal dialogue between the working people and officials. The meeting described the need to overcome indifference toward the entrusted means of production, egalitarianism in remuneration, and infringements of party discipline as being among the decisive tasks.

Whitehead Meeting With CSSR Dissidents Viewed
AU2410154188 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Oct 88 p 3

[Unsigned commentary by RUDE PRAVO's correspondent in Brussels: "Discussion on 'Driving Wedges' at NATO Headquarters in Brussels; Following the Footsteps of John Whitehead's Mission"]

[Text] Brussels— As has already been reported, John Whitehead, deputy U.S. secretary of state, briefed NATO's standing council here in Brussels on his tour of European socialist countries. During his visit, he also met with opposition groups, in which NATO invests great political hopes and for which it provides purposeful material backing from various funds.

The daily LE MONDE published a report by the U.S. press agency UPI stating: "On Thursday [20 October] John Whitehead called on the NATO allies to support in a 'cautious and pragmatic manner' the changes that are taking place in Eastern Europe. He recalled the 'impressive changes' occurring in this region, and, at the same time, he underlined the differences between individual countries. Bulgaria, for example, has rushed into a 'healthy' economic reform, which, however, has no parallel in the sphere of political and human rights." LE MONDE adds that "otherwise, the U.S. representative observed among his partners from Eastern Europe a 'certain alarm over the turmoil in Yugoslavia. It is felt to be a warning,' Whitehead said."

Political observers in the Belgian capital take particular note of the intense interest which the United States and the governments of other NATO countries take in the extent to which the political, diplomatic, and secret operations of NATO countries are succeeding in driving a wedge between individual socialist countries—in particular, between them and the Soviet Union—and in weakening their unity. The assessment provided by Whitehead in Brussels, too, was guided by this spirit; one of the diplomats here characterized the tour as an "inspection" of pro-American opposition forces.

In this connection, information has reached here which has not yet been published in the official reports on Whitehead's tour. It follows from this information, among other things, that, while in Prague, the U.S. politician met with a group of people who allegedly assured him that "they were the best informed persons about Czechoslovakia and its needs and interests." Questions of Czechoslovak-U.S. trade, particularly the so-called question of the most-favored-nation status, were also supposedly on the agenda of this secret meeting. Some time ago the United States denied Czechoslovakia this status, which should be a matter of course in relations between the United States and the CSSR, as both countries are signatories to the GATT.

As the French press agency AFP reported, Whitehead's Prague insinuators continually advised the U.S. politician against "exaggerating" the realistic shift in Czechoslovak-U.S. relations, particularly concerning the most-favored-nation clause in mutual trade. According to these sources, the granting of this clause must be made conditional on the attitude of the Czechoslovak Government toward the opposition groups represented by these individuals—that is, also on its attitude toward their political provocations, to which the official U.S. radio station has been giving attention in its recent broadcasts.

Observers in Brussels stress that, from the point of view of these patchy [dilci] reports, Whitehead's interest in the processes connected with restructuring in individual socialist countries must be viewed soberly.

Lenart, Urban Receive Bulgaria's Filipov
LD2010022888 Prague CTK in English 1950 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] Prague Oct 19 (CTK)—Member of the Presidium and Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party

Central Committee Jozef Lenart held talks here today with member of the Politburo and Secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee Grisha Filipov.

They agreed that organization of joint seminars and working visits of specialists in the sphere of planning and management of economy, banking, trade and cooperatives would be useful for further studies of general laws and specific features of economic reconstruction.

The Bulgarian guest also met with Czechoslovak First Deputy Premier and Chairman of the State Planning Commission Bohumil Urban and representatives of research institutes for economic affairs.

Jakes Meets With Filipov

LD2110201588 Prague CTK in English
1637 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Prague Oct 21 (CTK)—General Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Milos Jakes received here Friday [21 October] visiting Politburo member and Secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Grisha Filipov.

Milos Jakes briefed the guest on fulfilment of the tasks set up by the 7th and 9th sessions of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, and on the conclusions adopted at the 10th Central Committee session concerning ideological activities of the party.

The two representatives exchanged information about the restructuring of the economic and social life in the two countries. They stressed the inspiring role of changes in the Soviet society under the leadership of the Soviet Communist Party, pointing to the necessity of political and professional education of experts capable to realize the revolutionary changes taking place in Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria these days.

They also discussed fulfilment of the long-term program of economic, scientific and technological cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria till 2000 signed in Sofia in April.

Later in the day the Bulgarian representative ended his working visit to Czechoslovakia and left for home.

Jakes Receives Soviet Ambassador 20 Oct

LD2010180388 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1600 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Today in Prague Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, received Viktor Lomakin, Soviet ambassador to Czechoslovakia. They discussed the international political situation and the development of mutual Czechoslovak-Soviet cooperation.

Bilak Discusses International Communist Movement

LD2110031288 Prague CTK in English
1647 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Prague Oct 20 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and Central Committee Secretary Vasil Bilak spoke of the situation in the international communist movement at a seminar for the members of the foreign affairs committees of the House of the People and House of Nations of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly today.

Vasil Bilak stressed that due to the great changes in the present-day world the communist and workers parties are confronted with new tasks. Their strategy and tactics must be changed so as to correspond to the different conditions of development, he said, and added that the unity of class and universal interests, especially the interest in maintaining peace, comes to the forefront.

Vasil Bilak also pointed out the inspiring significance of the restructuring process in the USSR for the world revolutionary movement and for increasing the appeal of socialism.

Prospects of Czechoslovakia's cooperation with the developing countries were dealt with by Deputy Foreign Minister Jaromir Nehera.

Honecker Reviews Talks With Gorbachev

LD2410225688 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1645 GMT 24 Oct 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, General secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, today received Dr Guenther Maleuda, chairman of the Democratic Peasants Party of Germany [DBD]; Gerald Goetting, chairman of the Christian Democratic Union of Germany [CDU]; Dr Manfred Gerlach, chairman of the Liberal Democratic party of Germany [LDPD]; Prof Heinrich Homan, president of the National Democratic Party of Germany [NDPD]; and Prof Lothar Kolditz, chairman of the GDR National Front. Joachim Herrmann, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, and Karl Vogel, Central Committee department member, took part in the consultation.

The focal point of the exchange of views was a detailed briefing by Erich Honecker on his recent meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow. As expressed in the joint press release on this working visit, the GDR and the USSR, united in firm friendship and solidarity and supported by their common views on the principle questions of foreign policy and socialist construction, will continue to cooperate closely for the wellbeing of their peoples.

It was reaffirmed that the inexhaustible source of strength of this alliance is and will remain, including in the present stage of the development of world socialism and world politics, the proven fighting alliance of the SED and the CPSU on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. What has been achieved so far constitutes a solid foundation for the further stages, the deepening of the all-around and fruitful relations, the implementation of the long-term program of cooperation up to the year 2000, and the coordination of the 1991-95 economic plans in the mutual interest. In this, the CPSU is guided by the decisions of its 27th Congress and the commitments of the 19th All-Union Party Conference, and the SED by the decisions of its 11th Congress. The unity of economic and social policy is proving to be a solid and unshakable basis for the development of socialism in the GDR. This equates with the policy of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development set out in the Soviet Union by the CPSU.

Agreements of far-reaching importance were reached during the meeting. They are characterized by the joint determination to use the diverse possibilities of the two countries to guarantee world standards in the key areas of science, technology, and production. This requires the deepening of specialization and cooperation in the economic and scientific-technical spheres, the improvement of the structure of trade, the raising of technical standards and the quality of reciprocal supplies, and the expansion of direct relations for mutual benefit. We attach strategic importance to the solution of these tasks and to the implementation of all the Moscow agreements, Erich Honecker stressed.

In the international arena the GDR and the USSR are continuing to work consistently with their allies in the Warsaw Pact for the creation of a world without nuclear weapons, war, and violence. The GDR emphatically supports the constructive actions, full of initiative, of the Soviet Union for the safeguarding of peace and an improvement in the world situation. Although the international situation continues to be complicated, a change for the better is becoming apparent. The historic first step in nuclear disarmament must be followed by others without delay. On the agenda are the halving of the strategic arsenals with observance of the ABM treaty, a halt to nuclear tests, a ban on and the destruction of chemical weapons, and a breakthrough in the drastic reduction in armed forces and conventional arms from the Atlantic to the Urals. The participants in the talks reaffirmed that they would, as hitherto, use all the possibilties at their disposal to further strengthen the policy of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems through dialogue and cooperation. Vigilance is required here concerning those forces in NATO who continue to adhere to program for arms build-up.

In Moscow it was stated that the basic condition for the preservation of peace and security in Europe is inviolability of frontiers and unconditional respect for the existing territorial integrity of the states, their sovereignty and their independence, and for the principle of noninterference and also for the other norms of interstate relations. Both sides stated their readiness for further development of cooperation with the FRG on the basis of the generally recognized principles of international law. This is decisive for the solution of all questions that serve the safeguarding of peace and the creation of the relevant atmosphere of trust.

With regard to the improvement of the situation in connection with West Berlin and the development of good neighbourly relations with this city as a constructive element of safeguarding of peace, attention was drawn to respect for the existing realities and the strict observance of the Quadripartite Agreement.

Erich Honecker said that it accords with the spirit of his working visit to Moscow and the talks with Mikhail Gorbachev when we make socialism in the GDR increasingly more attractive on the path that we embarked upon. It is in this way that we, in full responsibility to our people, make the best contribution to the common cause of socialism, peace, and progress.

In so doing we allow ourselves to be guided as much by the universally valid laws, essential characteristics, and values of socialism, as by our specific conditions and national traditions.

The chairmen of the DBD, CDU, LDPD, and NDPD, as well as the chairman of the National Council of the GDR National Front, expressed their high regard for the meeting between Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev. The results of the meeting correspond with their own concerns. As alliance partners of the SED and in close friendship with the Soviet Union, it is a matter of doing everything for the further consolidation of the GDR and the benefit of the socialist fatherland. At the same time, world socialism and its appeal would be strengthened.

Our cooperation in the alliance of the democratic bloc and in the National Front is characterized by the further structuring of a developed socialist society in the GDR, Erich Honecker stressed. In this historical process of far-reaching political, economic, social, intellectual, and cultural changes, we are working together to do even more complete justice to the spirit of socialism. We have at our disposal a clear social concept for the present and the future, which implies joint work for the good of the people and the interests of citizens. We are preparing for the 40th anniversary of the GDR in this spirit.

Our alliance has proved itself a driving force for progress in every stage of the GDR's development. New tasks are continually emerging here, which have to be solved jointly.

Erich Honecker stated, with the approval of the chairmen of the DBD, CDU, LDPD and NDPD, as well as the chairman of the National Council of the National Front, that after the Eighth Party Congress of the SED and the party congresses of the friendly parties, their joint decision of safeguarding and continually increasing the material and cultural living standards of citizens through the policy of the unity of economic and social policies, is of fundamental significance. There is no prescription for it. We stick to the knowledge that the socialist economic and social policies will accomplish what will always be denied the capitalist profit-oriented economy; this is the harmonious union of economic and social development for the benefit of all working classes and strata. Put this way, this course, which we have followed since then as one of the many paths to socialism, is the one which is proving to be worthwhile in accordance with our national conditions. It has passed its test in practice. Karl Marx's criticism of the Gotha Program has always been a great help to us in this. In it he stated that, in socialism, the first phase of communism, the rewards are according to performance and not until communism are they according to needs.

The interlocutors referred to the fact that, just by the implementation of the housing construction program, with which we in the GDR wish to solve the housing question as a social problem by 1990, new apartments have been built for more than half of the population during the 17 years since the eighth party congress. This is a great social achievement, which was made possible by the policies of the GDR party and state leadership. The GDR budget account shows that, since the housing construction program was started, we have invested a total of 320 billion marks in it.

The combining of all the parties and organizations active in the democratic bloc and in the National Front is an expression of real socialist democracy in our lives. It includes increasingly more people in resolving political, economic, cultural, and municipal tasks, which they themselves are concerned about and which can only be mastered with everyone's efforts.

Erich Honecker stated that the SED has a very high opinion of the contribution to the alliance of the friendly parties and organizations united in the democratic bloc and in the National Front. In the GDR they have acquired an effectiveness which is unprecedented. We are very pleased that our companions have addressed themselves to the requirements of the scientific and technical revolution and its connection with the advantages of socialism, and that at the same time they have focussed their activities even more on the questions which are important for the citizens' daily lives. The efforts for the further expansion of the consumers' cooperatives, the farmers' mutual aid association, the farmers' trading cooperatives, the association of allotment holders, gardeners and small-animal breeders as well as an efficiently functioning network of repair and supply services and for the promotion of cooperative trades, private tradesmen, traders, business people, restauranteurs and inn-keepers are highly regarded. Here we are all conscious of the fact that there are still things to be done in these areas.

Erich Honecker's interlocutors stressed that, for all those powers working together in the National Front, the elections on 7 May 1989 were an occasion to discuss specifically with citizens everywhere how, under the prevailing conditions, all the reserves of socialist local policies could be developed. Here the initiative "join in making our cities and communities more beautiful" plays a special role. The worthy, honorary work of the deputies and appointed citizens in the commissions, aktivs, and working groups of the local people's representations, and in the committees of the GDR National Front, were acknowledged. It is necessary for these bodies of socialist democracy to be even more effective. The experiences of the GDR show that strong alliance relations and the willingness to work together, plan together, and govern together are indissolubly linked.

The chairmen of the friendly parties and of the National Council of the GDR National Front stated that they will also work together in the future in close alliance with the party of the working classes for the successful formation of a developed socialist society in the GDR. This is a task which corresponds deeply with the interests of the members of the friendly parties and the powers united in the National Front. In this way the well-established principle of the equality of all citizens, regardless of social origin, ideology and religion will continue to be practised.

Axen's Talks With PZPR's Czyrek Reported

LD1710220188 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1604 GMT 17 Oct 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The continuing expansion of bilateral relations is convincing evidence of the strength and significance of the agreement on friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance between the GDR and the People's Republic of Poland. This was stated by Hermann Axen, secretary of the SED Central Committee, and by Jozef Czyrek, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, in Berlin today during a friendly exchange of opinions. The recently signed agreement on friendship between the youth of the two countries is a significant milestone in further building the close cooperation of the two socialist neighboring countries and peoples.

With regard to the international situation, it was stressed unanimously that a change for the better is imminent. It is now a question of making the way clear for further steps toward disarmament and confidence-building despite the increasing resistance of certain NATO forces.

The two sides stressed the great importance of the 44th CEMA session's resolutions for the deepening of cooperation of the fraternal countries and for socialist economic integration.

The two sides agreed that relations between the two parties and states are steadily continuing to deepen, whereby even closer cooperation in the sphere of the mass media plays an important role.

The meeting at the Central Committee building was attended by Heinz Adameck and Achim Becker, chairmen of the State Committee for Television and Radio, and by Zhang Dake, the PRC Ambassador to the GDR.

During his visit to the GDR, Minister Ai Zhisheng also familiarized himself with the work of the GDR film industry. There was an agreement on further strengthening the present exchange in all fields.

PRC Officials Visit, Sign Agreements

Education Delegation Tours

AU1310150988 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 Oct 88 p 2

[Summary] East Berlin (ADN)—On 11 October, a delegation of the PRC State Education Commission, including leading scientists for ideopolitical work at universities, arrived for a study visit in the GDR. During a friendly meeting, Gerhard Engel, deputy minister for university and technical school affairs, outlined the tasks of university education in the GDR. During their stay in the GDR, the guests will visit universities in Berlin and Leipzig. Moreover, they will familiarize themselves with the GDR's experiences in shaping Marxist-Leninist basic studies.

Hermann Talks With Media Minister

LD1310163588 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1225 GMT 13 Oct 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Today, Joachim Herrmann, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, met Ai Zhisheng, PRC minister of radio, cinema, and television, who is currently in the GDR, for an exchange of views on the contribution of radio and television in further shaping socialism in their countries and in aiding the worldwide struggle for disarmament and peace.

Maritime Transport Agreement Signed

LD2210093288 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1702 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Transport Minister Otto Arndt received in Berlin on Friday a delegation from the PRC headed by Deputy Minister for Safety and Transportation Lin Zuyi for a friendly talk. The subject of the talk was the growing bilateral maritime trade and cooperation in the merchant shipping sector.

A protocol with agreements for the effective use of the capacities in maritime transport and transshipment of the two countries was signed by Deputy Transport Minister Dr Heinz Rentner and Lin Zuyi. The document supplements the agreement on trade and shipping between the GDR and PRC from 1960. [passage omitted]

During its visit the Chinese delegation visited merchant and inland shipping establishments in Rostock and Berlin and, GDR shipbuilding establishments.

Cooperation With Sciences Academy

AU2410153388 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Oct 88 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Prof Dr Ulrich Hofmann, first vice president of the GDR Academy of Sciences, and Prof Li Zhensheng, vice president of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, signed a plan for scientific cooperation between the two institutions from 1989 to 1990 in Berlin on Wednesday [19 October]. Prof Dr Werner Scheler, president of the Academy of Sciences, and Zhang Dake, PRC ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the GDR, were present during the signing.

The plan continues the contractual cooperation between the two academies. It focuses, among other things, on laser research, informatics, scientific apparatus construction, and carbon-based petrochemistry. The document was signed during the 2-week visit of a delegation of the Chinese Academy of Sciences to the GDR, during which it acquainted itself with the research facilities of the

Academy of Sciences. Prof Dr Horst Klemm, first secretary of the SED kreis leadership of the Academy of Sciences, and Klaus Herrmann, state secretary in the Ministry of Science and Technology, also participated in the signing.

Nicaraguan Officials Visit, Sign Agreements

Schuerer Receives Plan Official

AU1510164588 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Oct 88 p 6

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Gerhard Schuerer, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, chairman of the State Planning Commission, and candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, received Ligia Elizondo, deputy secretary of the Planning and Budget Secretariat in the Ministry of the Presidency of the Republic of Nicaragua, in Berlin on Wednesday [12 October].

The guest is paying a study visit to the GDR. At the State Planning Commission and in the Dresden Bezirk she had the opportunity to acquaint herself with the GDR's experiences in management and planning. In the talk, both sides proceeded on the commitment to universally develop cooperation, which had been made by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Daniel Ortega, coordinator of the National Directorate of the Sandinist National Liberation Front and president of the Republic of Nicaragua.

Gerhard Schuerer reported on the GDR's experiences in building the socialist planned economy and on the further development of the system of management, planning, and economic cost accounting on the basis of the decisions of the 11th SED Congress.

Ligia Elizondo was impressed by the GDR's successful development on the basis of the socialist planned economy. She reported that in Nicaragua great efforts are being made to mobilize the existing resources under complicated conditions with the help of economic management and planning, in order to stabilize the populations's living standard and gradually improve it. Both sides agreed that the further development of cooperation between the central planning authorities of Nicaragua and the GDR is an important contribution to continuously develop the relations between the two countries.

Minister Ruiz Praises CEMA Ties

LD1510135788 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1812 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] Berlin, (ADN)—The treaty on cooperation between Nicaragua and the CEMA, which was concluded 5 years ago in September 1983, is proving itself. This was confirmed by the Nicaraguan minister for foreign cooperation, Henry Ruiz, to ADN at the conclusion of the fifth meeting of the mixed commission of the two partners to the treaty on Friday in Leipzig.

Under the conditions of the economic blockade instituted against his country, good progress has been made in the past 5 years in cooperation with the CEMA in particular in the area of investment, the training of specialists and planning. He stressed the political will of the partners to the treaty to act against the economic aggression toward Nicaragua.

Minister Ruiz expressed his satisfaction with the results of the Leipzig meeting. Agreement was reached on further perfecting the mechanisms of multilateral cooperation. The politician praised the solidarity of the CEMA states with the struggle of his people for independence and sovereignty as was expressed in Leipzig as well.

Cooperation Protocol Signed

LD2010083388 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1553 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR-Nicaraguan Joint Commission ended 3 days of consultations in Berlin today. In the presence of Dr Gerhard Beil, GDR minister for foreign trade, the heads of the delegations, Henry Ruiz, member of the FSLN [Sandinist National Liberation Front] National Directorate and minister for foreign cooperation, and Wilhelm Bastian, deputy minister of foreign trade, signed a protocol on the development of economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the two countries in 1989.

In 1989, the GDR will supply, among other things, transportation and communications equipment, agricultural machinery and equipment, construction industry equipment, and chemical and other products. The GDR will import tobacco, cigars, coffee, canned fruit and vegetables, and other agricultural produce.

Krolikowski, Ruiz View Ties

LD2010083888 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1709 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Werner Krolikowski, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and member of the SED Politburo, has reaffirmed the GDR's firm position with regard to the active support of Nicaragua's efforts for a political solution to the conflict in Central America, and assured the country of the GDR's further solidarity aid. He met in Berlin today with Henry Ruiz, minister of foreign cooperation of the Republic of Nicaragua. The Nicaraguan politician is leading a delegation to the eighth meeting of the GDR-Nicaragua Joint Commission, being held in Berlin. They described the state of bilateral economic cooperation reached as significant,

and stressed their determination to carry through the commitments set out by the eighth joint commission meeting for the development of relations between the two friendly countries.

Fischer Receives Deputy Minister

LD2110095588 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1709 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Berlin, (ADN)—Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer received Victor Hugo Tinoco, deputy foreign minister of Nicaragua, for a talk on Thursday. The sides agreed that the close friendly relations between the GDR and Nicaragua are developing steadily and deepening in all areas. The two poiticians expressed satisfaction about the positive change in international relations, which must be made irreversible through further steps in the disarmament process.

Oskar Fischer underlined the GDR'S full support for all Nicaragua's initiatives aimed at a firm and lasting peace in Central America. The GDR will continue its contribution for a peaceful settlement of conflicts in that reigon and stand in firm friendhsip and active solidarity at the side of the Nicaraguan people in their just struggle for peace, independence, and social progress.

Victor Hugo Tinoco outlined the situation in Central America and explained the efforts of his government for a peaceful settlement of conflicts, for political and economic development, and for national reconciliation in the country.

The two politicians welcomed the announcement of the meeting of the Central American presidents in December, at which the implementation of the Guatemala agreement is to be discussed.

Victor Hugo Tinoco is in Berlin for politicial consultations with GDR Deputy Foreign Minister Bernhard Neugebauer.

Tisch Speaks at Activists' Anniversary Meeting

AU2010180188 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18 Oct 88 p 3

[Report on speech by Harry Tisch, chairman of the FDGB Central Council, at a meeting of this body on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the GDR activists' movement in Berlin on 17 October: "Activists—Models in Building the Socialist Society"]

[Text] With pride we look to the achievements accomplished over 4 decades through the industriousness and creativity of several generations, Harry Tisch said in his speech before the initiators of the competition. Those who followed the party's call immediately after the destruction of fascism by the Red Army and who proceeded in a conscious way have achieved great things. They were not deterred by difficulties, did not—as befits Communists—look for the easy way. The chairman of the FDGB Central Council stressed the great importance of the activist deed of miner Adolf Hennecke. With his deed, Adolf Hennecke raised this movement—which had started with the activists of the first hour, the youth advance brigades, and the young activists—to new and higher quality.

Class Awareness, Militant Spirit, and High Morals Proved [subhead]

Harry Tisch referred to the conditions of the past, which were characterized by lack of all things necessary for life and by hunger. Raising labor productivity became the key to solving all economic and social problems and to further social progress. But the fact that one has to make efforts to improve the difficult situation penetrated the people's minds only gradually. Adolf Hennecke's call for work perpetuated the class awareness, the militant spirit, and the morals of earlier generations of the revolutionary workers movement. His example was followed by many class-conscious workers and trade unions, and they thus started new initiatives, the speaker continued. They acted with the awareness of being the owners of the producer goods.

Their deeds were based on the decisive insight that a better life is not a gift from heaven but becomes reality only through more productive work. For those outstanding trade unionists it was a matter of worker's honor to actively implement the decisions of the party and to thus support the economic reconstruction with all their strength.

Today's activists are initiators of competition, exemplary workers, and innovators who are again pushing ahead, are filled with creative unrest, and are open to all progressive things. Harry Tisch cordially thanked all activists for their outstanding part in the shaping of the developed socialist society. If one considers the development from the beginning of the building of socialism until today, it becomes very clear how our party has always pursued a course which makes everyone realize that good work pays off.

Since its establishment, the worker-peasant power has always paid tribute to the will for work. It has always been the political guarantor for the basic human right to work. For us, unemployment, "new poverty," existential fear, and uncertainty about the future are terms from another, alien world. Full employment, protection, and social security are ensured.

As trade unionists, we can say with justified pride: The comprehensive trade unionist representation of interests has essentially contributed to the fact that our people have reached a standard of living unprecedented in their history. The face of socialism on German soil has never been as human as today.

Only a few days ago in Berlin, Comrade Erich Honecker handed over the 3 millionth apartment that has been newly built or modernized since the Eighth SED Congress. Three million apartments—behind this figure stand the great achievements and initiatives of thousands of construction workers from Rostock to Suhl, from Magdeburg to Frankfurt (Oder).

As a result of the far-reaching sociopolitical measures, increasing subsidies from the state budget benefit the population every year. In 1988, M25.1 billion are earmarked for the health and social sector, and M15.4 billion for the education system. Almost M50 billion are necessary to guarantee stable prices for basic consumer goods, for services, and rates. As of this year, older working people receive 5 additional work days of annual leave. We are proud of this. For this we spend more and more money every year, which, of course, has to be earned by greater performances.

Every Proposal Is Important [subhead]

Our economic performance level decisively determines what we can afford in sociopolitical measures. Therefore, the joint directive on the plan discussion issued the guideline to develop the treasure of ideas, the initiatives, and the industriousness of all working people, in order to ensure the continued stable and dynamic growth of the national economy in line with the unity of economic and social policy. Fully in this spirit, we will conduct the socialist competition in honor of the GDR's anniversary under the binding slogan: High performances for the benefit of the people and for peace—Everything for the implementation of the decisions of the 11th SED Congress—Onwards to the 40th anniversary of the GDR!

The better we now prepare the plan and our competition for its fulfillment, the greater will be the results. We are doing everything to integrate every colleague in the discussions about present and future tasks. No proposal, no suggestion must be left out, no question, no criticism must go unanswered.

In this way, we give general validity to our principle of socialist democracy—"Participate in working, participate in planning, participate in governing"—in trade union work. In this way, we make the working people's great treasure of experiences effective, so as to attain an increasing yield for society in all combines and enterprises.

To Gain Time for Our Country in High Technologies [subhead]

Top-level modern results from science and technology are increasingly entering our lives. It is becoming more and more clear that both a labor productivity increase and a reduction in the energy and material input are increasingly based on the speedy development and broad application of the high technologies. It is these technologies in particular that give us the key to achieve economic growth rates that are unthinkable with the usual technology. Under the socialist conditions in our country they also open up many opportunities to further develop the social achievements and make lasting improvements in working and living conditions.

Our trade unionist experience says: Applying key technologies means, above all, winning people over for this, challenging them, and solving all tasks together with them. This means consolidating behavioral patterns in ideopolitical work which correspond to the great demands on the capacity and willingness for work, on qualification and work motivation. Thus, the collective spirit and mutual aid, organization, discipline, creativity, and personal responsibility are becoming more and more important.

Now it is important to broadly advance technological development everywhere, in a race against time, so as to establish new preconditions for raising labor productivity, improving product quality, and reducing costs. Persisting unjustified differences in standards among the combines and enterprises have to be overcome as quickly as possible by qualified leadership work and an atmosphere of creative competition. Gaining time also means gaining power for socialism.

Acting in the Service of Peace [subhead]

With a view to the forthcoming 40th anniversary of the GDR in 1989, Harry Tisch referred to the great international appreciation for the economic and social achievements of the GDR. The activists, innovators, and rationalizers have a decisive share in this. Every one of their labor feats is strengthening socialism. Every one of their labor feats has also been an asset in the struggle to safeguard peace. Today the inseparable unity of secure peace and strong socialism determines our actions more than ever before. The GDR's working people are affirming this in the daily struggle for great results in the competition under the slogan "My work place is my combat station for peace." Thus, filled with satisfaction, we can say: When an entire category of nuclear weapons of destruction is now being eliminated as a result of the constructive and flexible policy of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact states, the GDR and our country's working people, who are acting with political awareness, have also made their contribution to this.

Police Prevent 1956 Commemoration Rally

AU2410134888 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 24 Oct 88 p 2

[Peter Martos report: "Large-Scale Police Action Prevents Commemoration of 1956"]

[Text] Vienna/Budapest—On Sunday [23 October] Hungarian police "celebrated" the anniversary of the 1956 popular uprising with a new tactic: According to eyewitness reports, an unprecedented number of policemen intimidated the people gathered in the streets to commemorate the events of 1956 without—as in former years—physically acting against the demonstrators.

By Friday a ban on demonstrations in Budapest had already been issued. This measure was obviously linked with the conference of the American Society of Travel Agents: The worldwide association brought 6,000 tourism experts to the Hungarian capital, who were obviously not to be confronted with demonstrations.

As MTI hurried to report, the ban made the independent Democratic Forum movement withdraw a call for a rally to commemorate the events of 1956; and under protest, four other organizations also renounced their demonstrations. On Sunday dissident Tibor Philipp reported in a telephone call to DIE PRESSE that a representative of the "dropout" organizations had even entered a police car and had used a megaphone to call on the demonstrators to disperse.

The rallies started in the morning in different places but were prevented by strong police units. In the end, only two short commemorative rallies with several hundred participants took place. In the afternoon and in the evening two events commemorating the popular uprising were held in the Yurt Theater in Budapest's People's Park.

On Sunday Hungarian radio reported extensively on the events of 1956. Only recently it was announced that Imre Nagy, who was premier during the popular uprising and who was executed in 1958, will soon receive an official tomb.

Marothy Addresses Assembly on Barrage Project

LD0810124088 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1530 GMT 7 Oct 88

[Speech by Laszlo Marothy, minister of enviromental protection and water management, at the 7 October session of the National Assembly in Budapest—live]

[Text] [Unidentified session chairman] Esteemed National Assembly: We continue our work. Laszlo Marothy, minister of enviromental protection and water management, has the floor:

[Marothy] Esteemed parliament. On behalf of the government, I appreciate every contribution. I, myself—and I believe the people present, as well—for the umpteenth time again experienced the debate concerning the Bos-Nagymaros water barrage system. We could even start the debate from the beginning. I ask that you spare me from dealing separately with every item meriting a word from every contributor, for this problem is 180 kilometers long and borders two countries and entails power generation, shipping, flood protection, town building, genetics, biology, ecology, and so forth. The items themselves are so long that it would be difficult to get to the end. For this reason, I ask that you empower me to be brief.

I can do this for two reasons, as well. With regard to the government's opinion, we left no doubt over what our opinion is on what, what we think, and where we are leaving things. We did this up to the final day, when we voiced the opinion that had been expressed in the meantime under the dissecting knife, and we said how we felt about it.

Some of what was said, and which is to be decided upon, pertains to the general staff of parliament [parliament vezerkara]. For this reason I naturally shall not deal with them. Thus, I have put my thoughts together in three theses.

First: I shall rush through the government standpoint worded in my briefing so that if there are any doubts, or if greater specificity is needed on the pertinent parts of what was said, they can be made even clearer. As for the first point—with your permission I shall not quote the structure according to the original concept of the system, for you surely remember it. The government has proclaimed it as its standpoint. Remarks, proposals, and motions have been voiced for a postponement, a suspension, or a temporary deferment. I could state my counterargument. Availing myself of your authorization, I do not want at this point to mark time. I do not believe, and I do not know, whether we could learn more. Might there be more arguments? Would we be able to discover more scientific evidence in favor or against the arguments? If we were to act in this way we could defer the decision for weeks or months.

On the basis of what has been said, and for this reason, I affirm our standpoint, which was formulated in the original, first point.

In point three, we spoke, as a principle of operation, on the deterioration of the quality of the Danube's water; we spoke about minimizing enviromental risk; and we discussed the issues of purifying waste water, as a remaining issue of negotiation with our contracting partner. I would like to say two things. On the Hungarian side we presented the program in the briefing; it is a matter of purifying biological waste water. As for the modification pertaining to the international relationship, it is expedient—that is the expression we used—to word it in an

agreement; there is one sole reason for this. We, here, cannot pass a resolution on the contracting side. But it is our resolute intention that having discussed it with our partner, it should be shaped into a contract. We are not setting out from nought.

The Czechoslovak side's waste water purification program is complete; here, in truth, it is a matter of scheduling in terms of time, in connection with the completion of the individual important parts of the project. We can supplement this with the word must, but we can only do it with the explanation that the must is valid with regard to only us.

As for the fifth point: Now, too, as at every consultation, it was said that this work must be completely finished—I do not say this as an investment-specialist expression, but rather as how we understood it—together with all the related, accessory investments.

The esteemed contributors demanded that the government give a guarantee for this. The government's standpoint regarding such [word indistinct] completion is unequivocal, but the guarantee, esteemed parliament, we can give together, when we discuss the budget and the 5-year plans, for many interests will clash then. Therefore, as for our part, I can voice our unequivocal resolve, and I ask that the guarantee be proclaimed jointly by us.

As for the sixth point: We said that the government will ask for a committee and will entrust it with attentively following the project's construction. It should control it and it should keep the government informed. The proposals were also worded to the effect that parliament should create such a committee, and several proposals were made concerning the way such a committee should be formed.

Esteemed parliament: If parliament separately creates such a committee, about whose form I do not wish to speak, the government would refrain from running such a committee itself, because this would only double the work while the benefits perhaps would not even be half.

This is the extent to which I wish, overall, to supplement the government's standpoint.

The second item: briefly, on the contributions. Without an itemized listing, I fully agree with what was said by the comrades speaking on behalf of the committees. In part, the remark added to the points already made contains this. I also agree with such things as the problem of the channel of the old Danube, which we should debate again, examine, and again considering the various viewpoints which were mentioned, we should shape an answer to this question, which interests many people.

I would like to reply to a single phrase by Academician Janos Szentagothai. It is with regard to the landscape-aesthetics component. Two things briefly: Somewhere, in my readings—I remember it—when the Eiffel Tower was built in Paris, Maupassant marched out of Paris with his fellow intellectuals. He could not bear it. Now, if a person goes to Paris, one of his trips, if not the first, takes him to the Eiffel Tower.

My other favorite author, mainly in my youth, was Imre Szasz. I learned Magyardom and patriotism from his writings; I still like them very much. He does not like the water barrage and is against it. I invited him to look at it, in front of the work ditch at Dunakiliti. I already feared that if he saw the dug ground and the concrete colossus he would write that he did not like it. I started to tell him that it was not pretty, unfortunately, and that there were large machines, dirt, and so forth. We went there and after a short time he came over to me and said: You were wrong. This is pretty. A Frenchman says, of this, that it is industrial aesthetics.

I do not know, esteemed parliament: If the beauty of the landscape, historical tradition, and industrial aesthetics genuinely meet up, will the Hungarians be poorer at the bend of the Danube?

Fellow Deputy Endre Kaldi: on the matter of shipping. There are already some study plans at Gyor for a port. At Dunakiliti, we are investigating this, in consultation with my fellow minister. Several times there have been all sorts of preliminaries to this.

I would not like to go into things which are really detailed and issues for specialists. We will look at it and give an unequivocal answer to it.

As for Comrade Kalman Szabo's observations, we have no way of knowing the calculations Comrade Szabo cited. We welcome them, and in the order of the work we shall be checking them ourselves to see where mistakes were made, and if they do not match whether they were mistakes on our part.

As for the observation of my fellow Deputy Zoltan Kiraly, I would like to say three things: He speaks of extremely grave ecological effects. I browsed through some material here in the meantime. We have no knowledge of any revelations by Hungarian science, for the complex enviromental study of features should be described with these words. So we cannot take them into account in our considerations. He defended the Hungarian Academy of Sciences against me. It is not an academy document that is circulating; this ought to be clarified. It is a paper by an ad-hoc committee—there are many of these. I myself have often gone during my brief tenure to the source and received help from an ad-hoc committee on one or two questions. We received it not under the banner of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, but as the work of an ad-hoc committee.

I hope the comrade deputies will forgive me if I say something in my own way about the matter of the superpower—the water management portfolio as a superpower. As I was listening to Zoltan Kiraly, the

image of the Great Church of Szeged came to my mind. Everyone knows that the people of Szeged built it after a terrible flood. I cannot conceive that in this respect Zoltan Kiraly was speaking about this in the name of the town of Szeged. I can say this, because I know the water management service quite well, going back many years. I know what it means, that when they have to offer protection it never happens on weekdays, but rather on legal holidays, like New Year's Eve, and similar auspicious moments while others rest. Its thinking is not about power, but rather about service, and we want to continue to strengthen this service.

My fellow Deputy Sandor Barcs, whom I greatly respect and for whom I have high regard, I listened to the quote. Quite by chance I was also informed about the topic concerned from two news sources. One of the sources was Hungarian radio, its Chronicle program. And the other source, KARPATI IGAZ SZO, the newspaper of Hungarians in sub-Carpathia, if I am naming the title correctly, came into my hands. It quotes Gorbachev word for word, and also the things about which Comrade Gorbachev spoke. There are two other sentences which I think belong to the complete truth. Please excuse me if they are not accurate to the word, but I accept responsibility for their content. Gorbachev goes on: But comrades, this is not about not building hydroelectric power stations, but rather about bringing them into harmony with nature's demands. That this is how things stand altogether is obvious. [applause]

As for Comrade Tamas Nemes: Our national past and its monuments are what we are talking about. One could speak for a long time about this, for archeologists are doing wonderful work. It was the greatest archeological expert there who worked out the program. He also tells me that he does not agree with the barrage, but that he can work together with people from water management very well. The already mentioned Roman watch tower, which we saw a few days ago, will be rescued in the flood area. And, esteemed parliament, we will not allow the loss of a single monument which belongs to our people, nation, and state. This was undertaken by the group which is carrying out this construction.

Maybe you can see the problems with the royal city. Above it lie residential houses and buildings. At this moment the question is not whether they should be dug up, because there are other circumstances. But even if it comes to that, this will not be lost either.

And finally, for the third time: the past, for this has been raised in the context of responsibility. What is one aspect of this past? Why did Ferenc Nagy and his colleagues visit the Tennessee Valley? NEW HUNGARY, 25 June 1946, United States: In his radio speech in the United States, Premier Ferenc Nagy gave an account of his visit to the Tennessee Valley. Its effect is so astounding, he said, that it is not surprising that it attracts people from all parts of the world. What is so attractive to the visitor to the Tennessee Valley? I do not want to quote NEW HUNGARY at length. Sixteen completely new dams of the most modern type were built, and five were modernized. So many thousands of acres were made flood-free. And it writes that what used to be Damnation Valley, the poorest and most backward region in the United States, had been fundamentally changed. What does this newspaper write? This Tennessee Valley [Authority] program was called the TVA program. This is not the same as the other matter introduced here as TVA. Ferenc Nagy and his colleagues then did a DVA—a Danube Valley program—in which they proposed that similar problems of the Danube Valley be remedied with something similar.

I am speaking of the past, esteemed parliament, but even today the common European home is very topical. One has to be aware of the work of the European Parliament—they urge a separate Central-East European program. Is this so worn, ancient, or passe?

But the other past is that in 1977 it was decided that the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros project had to be built. No doubt it did not avoid our esteemed fellow deputy's attention that in 1981 the government recognized that there were going to be economic problems here, and that it wanted to stop the construction. But calculations showed that it would not have been worthwhile, even then. This is also the past. As to whether this work is fundamentally wrong or not, perhaps beyond what has been said, this Tennessee quotation also shows that it cannot be all that bad. It is surely one of the plausible solutions.

Science: I greatly regret that in this exaggerated and overheated debate on Gabcikovo-Nagymaros, a program completely escaped our people's attention. The world gathered at Keszthely, fellow Deputy Czoma. This was the scientific community of the world which deals with large lakes. They did this because they found everything Hungary has done in the interest of Lake Balaton extremely interesting. In two 5-year programs the country spent, not at fixed prices, not at current prices, 5 billion forints on Balaton. The world came here: the United States, Asia, Africa. Esteemed parliament: What was realized there was done by Hungarian science—our biologists, our ecologists. I can see some of them sitting here in the hall as guests. A truly great achievement. How can it be that the people sacrificed so much for something? Because they paid for it, and it still bore fruit, and we are using it, and it will improve. This receives no attention. And yet this is no small and minor matter. This is Hungarian science's very thorough and competent work. But the same thing can be said of the whole undertaking.

Esteemed parliament: We are working together, naturally, with the whole of Hungarian science, with all of its institutions and organizations. There is no point in stressing this all the time. As to how valuable this science is in the world, at least in the sphere of expertise which applies to us—the sphere of ecology—is shown by the fact that the Brudtland Committee I have cited, which consists of very few people, also invited a Hungarian

scientist into its ranks, Academician Lang. So he does have some standing. And this knowledge is also put to use at home. What we have talked about, in laying the foundations and in its existence today, also represents the work of Hungarian science.

But there is one thing I believe, continuing also what my colleague Minister Vancsa said: The real value is if science contributes with its research results, if it researches, investigates, and gives unequivocal opinions. It is important, indispensable, that its personalities should also provide statements, but the real basis is still served by the research results. This is how we envisage cooperation with science; we ask for, expect, and want the results. Their place is everywhere that decisions also must be made.

As for environmental protectionists: Esteemed National Assembly, this debate has brought results. This includes the fact that the environmental protection groups have in this way become active. It has drawn the attention of our people to the fact that the environment is a very precious treasure. We have learned something. It is more in the forefront of attention, and now we cannot go any lower than this; we must learn. Our great chance is if we can learn through the mistakes of others how the environment must be handled.

We must, we want to, cooperate. I say this now, too. And we will find a compromise. I would like to draw your attention to just one thing: The environmental protection groups are made up not just of those who have marched, but also those from the country Komarom Environmental Protection Association, County Borsod, and the environmental protection group of the Eotvos University. They are much wider; there are hundreds of them now in the country. I think that we must all work together. They are our partners, they help, and I say that they also have a place in future discussions, for we can build a more environmentally rich country together with them.

Economic matters have been mentioned. I would like to say only that our really big question is what our premier said in the government program. Either we can sketch an economic development track which is determined by our circumstances and build a political institution system which is necessary for the development of socialism, or, there will be no renewed resurgence. This is a great question.

It was said here that this (?resembles) an outmoded economic structure. Please, I ask, where is the new economic structure laid down on the table? Whichever aspect I look at, it takes years to develop an economic structure even in countries richer than ours. And, in the political superstructure system, I think that the task is rather to put it in order as soon as possible, so that it is not the organizing but the work now which should develop. And the clarification of the law which has often been mentioned—the right of association—hopefully will bring this about as soon as possible.

Because it seemed to me that here only a person who gives quotations is an intellectual, I collected a dozen quotes myself, too. However, in view of the time I have saved, here is one and funnily enough, from Szechenyi. But, I did not want it to be—Look—he said this too, but I wanted to argue with him—well, it is easy to do this now. With the Szechenyi who had mud thrown at him, an abusive poem written when he built the Chain Bridge. Szechenyi said that in such great projects, it also must be undertaken, which is for us the most costly, that we do without the agreement of our compatriots. He wrote something similar to this. This is why I wanted to argue with him. I think that now, in these questions, there really is division. But the way to handle this is not by saying that, even despite those who oppose this, we will build this project. The interpretation of our government, and our ministry fully shares this, is that this must indeed be explained, we must indeed tell everyone what this is, so that in the end a consensus can develop, that national unity should develop. There is no obstacle to this; I think that we can do this, with decency and understanding, although it will take much time. There should be no obstacle, no hindrance. The people should, after all, receive this project with goodwill.

Finally, I began this third passage with the past, and I would like to finish it with the present and the future. This session has been very educational for me. One main lesson has made a big impression on me: The government which wants to act resolutely is supported by parliament.

Thank you for your attention.

Marothy Interviewed Following Dam's Approval

LD1010091188 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1800 GMT 9 Oct 88

[From "The Week" program; interview with Laszlo Marothy, minister of environmental protection and water management, by unidentified reporter, in Budapest; date not given]

[Text] As the entire country saw, thanks to television, the National Assembly, after a long debate which explored issues which were not only of a specialized nature, accepted the government's briefing. Consequently, the construction of the Bos-Nagymaros water barrage system will continue according to schedule. Right after the vote, we asked Laszlo Marothy, minister of environmental protection and water management, to appear in the National Assembly Building before the cameras of "The Week".

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] Three hundred seventeen in favor, 19 against, and 31 abstentions. What does this vote tell you?

[Marothy] First and foremost, that during the past months as well as here in the National Assembly debate it was possible to clarify among the deputies numerous issues connected with the construction of the Bos-Nagymaros water barrage. And I emphasize—within this circle. Naturally, this has a further impact. However, our task as contained in the government's stand is to inform our people about how the entire project got underway, with what intentions and objectives, where it stands, what it is bringing, and what problems and difficulties it has. This is one of the biggest tasks of the coming period.

[Reporter] With what, and at what pace, is work continuing?

[Marothy] If you are thinking specifically of the work which I just mentioned, the specialist team has been organized slowly, which is suitable for a professional presentation like this one. I believe we can hope that the members of the press who also have been acquainted with this entire project and all those who have specialized knowledge about this or who are acquainted with its history or its effects will collaborate in giving information.

[Reporter] The National Assembly accepted the government's report, together with the supplements. How will work proceed at Bos-Nagymaros?

[Marothy] According to the schedule and the construction plan, the workingditch has been closed up at Nagymaros. The water is now being pumped out. The foundations for the power unit's baseplate will be laid. This is the next, new stage in the project. In other areas of the construction, we can talk about continuation—whether it is a matter of dam building, or the Dunakiliti Dam.

[Reporter] A few minutes ago, the National Assembly decided to commission and elect an ad hoc committee. What will be the role of the ad hoc committeee?

[Marothy] The National Assembly worded generally that it should control this work. I [word indistinct] welcome this. There will not be only one committee; the government will also create a social committee in which people will be stating opinions in connection with the affected areas and the project; these people are requested to attentively follow the realization. They should state opinions on it, they should shape their remarks and views.

There will be a third one [words indistinct]. I shall organize a committee to assist me in sorting out scientific research. I would like to involve every specialist who has an interest in, is familiar with, and has expertise in every one of the quite different research projects of the water barrage, so that we do not disregard the country's intellectual knowledge in the course of building and shaping a means of operation.

[Reporter] Will those who oppose the construction of the Bos-Nagymaros water barrage system have a role in the last committee you mentioned?

[Marothy] Unequivocally yes, and I would also like to say not only in this. During the entire debate there has been a gain which we have not put on record anywhere. I say that we shall have an opportunity to carry out environmental protection very effectively if we learn about, in time, the problems which other people have already experienced. This debate—and I do not want to expound its methods, forms, and interests now—directed our people's attention and activated very many people. In other words, the very elemental issue of environmental protection became the focus of attention. I say now, too, or rather, even more: We invariably seek allies with everyone who is an acquaintance or caretaker of the cause of the environment or who wants to become one. [end recording]

'Model of Socialist Market Economy' Established

AU1910130288 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 11 Oct pp 1, 3

[Zsuzsa Gal report: "A Model of Socialist Market Economy Established—News Conference by the Economic Policy Advisory Committee"]

[Text] The Economic Policy Advisory Committee held a meeting on 10 October. (This committee has been functioning for several months in order to work out the conditions for the creation of a socialist market economy.) After the meeting, Chairman Peter Medgyessy, Deputy Chairman Miklos Pullai, and Secretary Laszlo Antal informed the press about several ideas that had emerged during the debate.

They told the press that, despite the multitude of opinions, the members of the committee agree on basic issues: It is necessary to create an economy in which—contrary to the historically developed forms of socialism—the market plays the primary role and in which the market is the institution that integrates the entire economy. Until now, in the indirect economic system, market mechanisms have been employed only in areas where the planned state management proved to be inefficient. There is an opposing logic in the socialist market economy: Nonmarket mechanisms should be applied in cases where the market does not prove to be a socially efficient or an acceptable coordinating mechanism. However, central regulations in this area, too, should not diverge from the conditions primarily created by the market, conditions that decisively determine the functioning of the economy.

This Advisory Committee is preparing theses which encourage thinking. The Committee deals with the possible guarantees for the functioning of such an economic model. A system of ownership in which the ownership concept and attitude will determine the attitude of the people engaged in economic activity can be such a

guarantee and driving force. The program of economic liberalization currently under way is connected to this, a program that provides greater scope for entrepreneurs and institutions engaged in economic activity. The debate focused primarily on what should be the relations between economic liberalization and the restrictive financial policy. As Peter Medgyessy pointed out, monetary regulations are also included in the economic liberalization. The debate also focused on the amount of taxation, to ensure that this taxation leaves enough scope for economic activity, and, at the same time, that it makes and keeps our budget operational and solvent.

Berecz Urges Acceleration of Reforms

LD2210102188 Budapest MTI in English 2022 GMT 22 Oct 88

[Text] Budapest, October 22 (MTI)—A county communist forum was held on Saturday [22 October] in Szekesfehervar. The conference was addressed by Janos Berecz, member of the HSWP Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee.

In his contribution, the secretary of the Central Committee stressed: It is very important for the party to regain, as soon as possible, the confidence it has lost in the past years. However, it will be capable of this only if it has an action programme and takes action. In the following he noted that the reform processes should be accelerated both in economy and within the party. The law on business associations approved at the latest session of the National Assembly, the draft of the wage and budgetary reform to be prepared by next spring, and the new social-welfare policy plan can be efficient means of promoting advance. Modifications will be carried out in the tax system, although the time passed is still too short to evaluate the efficiency of this economic means, said the secretary of the Central Committee. Today, the party is seeking the road of renewal, and the basic organizations of the party are playing a major role in this.

Deputy Premier Medgyessy Advocates Reform Policy

AU1710213188 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 17 Oct 88 p 4

[Harald Guenter report: "Hungary Wants To Continue Reform Policy"]

[Text] Stuttgart—The Hungarian People's Republic wants to consistently pursue the course of liberalizing the economy and society. As Hungarian Deputy Premier Peter Medgyessy admitted at the first FRG-Hungarian journalists' congress in Gerlingen near Stuttgart, Budapest's economic policy has not succeeded in making the "necessary turn" in the past decade. But the necessary lessons have been drawn from this. "Today it is an indisputable fact for us that economic reforms can only be effective if they are accompanied by political reforms," Medgyessy underlined.

Referring to the chances of this course, Medgyessy stated optimistically: "A massive political reform process is now developing in our society." The point is to reorganize the relationship between party and state, and to strengthen the role of parliament and the citizens' autonomy, their right of assembly, and their right to establish associations. In the economic sector, Hungary is aiming for a system in which "the market has a comprehensive economic role." In the long run, alongside social property, the importance of private property as "equal-rights property" will further increase, the politician stated.

The Hungarian Government is following the further development of (West) European integration with great interest, but also with a "certain anxiety," Medgyessy stated. Hungary is ready to adapt to "the new conditions" but urges that the completion of the EC's internal market after 1992 should not lead to increasing barriers of trade policy for third countries.

Both Medgyessy and Istvan Horvath, Hungary's ambassador to Bonn, underlined the importance of municipal town-twinning agreements for positive cooperation between the two states. In the meantime, 19 of these agreements have been signed while others are in the offing. "We are pressing for a further development," Horvath underlined, and he appealed to the Federal Government to abolish the existing charges for visa and bus trips by groups from the twinned towns.

Small Business Loans for Unemployed Extended

AU1910152288 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 13 Oct 88 p 1

[MTI report: "Nationwide Restarting Loan as of November"]

[Text] A restarting loan will be provided for people who become unemployed through no fault of their own in all the counties. The loan can be used to establish small ventures or to join already existing ones. This loan has been provided since 1 July in three counties with the highest level of unemployment: Baranya, Borsod, and Komarom. The State Office for Wages and Labor informed the press about the experiences so far and the reasons behind extending this loan to other counties.

The office originally planned to make this loan available nationally as of the beginning of 1989, but considerably fewer people than expected have applied for this loan to date, and the funds thus saved made it possible to advance this measure. At the beginning of this year, the county and municipal labor affairs offices were still receiving reports on accelerated structural changes to be carried out in the enterprises and on subsequent manpower regroupings. In view of the expectations, state contributions to this restarting loan have been secured. However, the actual job and manpower changes were less than expected. Instead of the expected 800 to 1,000 people, only some 150 people in the aforementioned

three counties have so far declared their intention to apply for this loan, and only about 20 to 25 people have actually signed the contract.

The conditions of applying and using this loan have not changed. Anyone who lost his job as a result of enterprise restructuring or liquidation can apply for an interest-free loan amounting to a maximum of 300,000 forints repayable in a maximum period of 10 years. Any such person whose rapid reemployment is not certain is entitled to an extension of his term of notice, and subsequently to this loan. The local councils' labor affairs authorities provide justification for such loans, and with this certificate, people can apply for this loan at the local branches of the National Savings Bank. Other documents are also needed before signing the contract. If, for example, someone intends to work as a small artisan after receiving this loan, he must also present his license. The local councils' labor affairs bodies and manpower offices provide information about the necessary documents. The state pays the interest on these loans from the employment fund: 15 percent in the case of loans for agricultural purposes and 17 percent for other ventures. A supplementary loan can also be requested under general bank loan conditions. Only ventures operating as primary jobs can be financed by this loan.

This loan can be used by small artisans, small tradesmen, small-scale agricultural producers, and people who join partnerships as members and will work in these partnerships as their main jobs.

Szarszo Front Official Describes 'Radical' Aims

LD1710130588 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0600 GMT 17 Oct 88

[Text] The newest autonomous organization, the Szarszo Front, held its first national consultations yesterday, in the course of which the operational charter of the organization and its 12-point declaration were discussed. The latter was adopted at yesterday's session. Historian Endre Vitez told Budapest radio about the difference between the Szarszo Front and other, similar autonomous organizations.

[Vitecz] The Szarszo Front, from the point of view of its thinking, its ideology, stands close to the Hungarian Democratic Forum and its aims. The front is linked to the so-called national radical ideological-political tradition, to the bourgeois-peasant center of Ednre Bajcsy-Zsilinszky, the smallholders party of 40 years ago, and to that wing of the populist movement which was highlighted by Istvan Bibo, Imre Kovacs, Zoltan Szabo, Gyula Illyes. We intend to continue their ideological inheritaence, although naturally applied to today's conditions. This means, more or less, that within the tendencies of the populist movement at present, it is perhaps we who raise most resolutely the problems of social self-organization, the peculiar Hungarian idea of building democracy from below. In other words, we openly confess that we consider ourselves to be radical, and we intend to gather up primarily those social groups, associations, and individuals which share our radicalism.

Ex-Premier Supports Conscientious Objector Status

AU1710113188 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 15 Oct 88 p 2

[KNA report: "Hungary's Ex-Premier Supports Conscientious Objectors"]

[Text] Budapest—At the public peace forum "Europe and Hungary" in Budapest, former Hungarian Premier Andras Hegedus called for the suspension of prison sentences for conscientious objectors who are being detained in Hungarian prisons. The peace forum was held in preparation for a European meeting in Budapest which is scheduled for November and which will be jointly organized by the official Hungarian peace organizations and the country's independent peace groups.

Hegedus said that the credibility of Hungary's peace activities requires the release of the imprisoned conscientious objectors before this meeting. The former head of government criticized the official Hungarian peace movement because it had not earlier addressed the issue of conscientious objectors. Miklos Barabas, general secretary of the National Peace Council, recommended the advancement of the introduction of an alternative national service, which was planned for next year, to 1 January 1989.

Defense Official on Alternative Service

AU1910144488 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 12 Oct 88 p 7

[Interview with Colonel Gyorgy Keleti, head of the Press Department of the Defense Ministry, by Bela Kurcz: "Theological Students in Army Uniform—How Can New Conscripts Practice Their Religion?"—date and place not given]

[Excerpts] Several new conscripts were drafted into the Army at the end of August. There are many religious young people among them who have a daily spiritual need to observe the principles of their religion and to pray. There are 80 theological students of different religious denominations among the new conscripts, and they were sent to Army units in Hodmezovasarhely and Cegled for 1 year.

[Kurcz] How can the conscripts practice their religion in the Army?

[Keleti] There are no institutions for the practice of religion within the Army. Although we recognize ideological pluralism in society, we disseminate and popularize materialist concepts in the Army. [passage omitted]

[Kurcz] Do the soldiers have the opportunity today to participate in religious services at least during their leave?

[Keleti] We do not see any reason to prohibit the soldiers from participating in religious services during their leave or vacation. However, there are no such opportunities in the Army even for theological students. Because these students will take up clerical careers after their 12 months of Army service, we do not intend to divert them from their purpose and, naturally, we give them certain special allowances. [passage omitted]

[Kurcz] When can these soldiers participate in religious services? This is also part of their religious freedom!

[Keleti] We make it possible for them to visit churches in the town regularly. They keep their civilian clothes on the parish premises; they change clothes and participate in the religious services and in spiritual training. [passage omitted]

[Kurcz] It is a fact that interest in and demand for religion has been increasing in Hungary, particularly among young people. The Hungarian People's Army must also take this into account!

[Keleti] This is indeed so! But the important thing for us is that every soldier—whether religious or not—should honestly fulfill his Army service. [passage omitted]

[Kurcz] Does the Army have direct contacts with any of the churches?

[Keleti] We do not have direct contacts with any of them. However, the Archbishop of Kalocsa visited two of our units of theological students this year, and he praised everything there. [passage omitted]

[Kurcz] Have firearms been used in the military training of theological students? Do these soldiers have the right to refuse to use firearms on grounds of conscience?

[Keleti] I must stress that the aforementioned 80 theological students did not consider their Army service to be incompatible with their conscience. They have received military training and took the military oath. They participated in shooting practice with firearms even before taking this oath, and the oath stipulates that, if necessary, they will also use firearms to defend their country. [passage omitted]

[Kurcz] How many young people refuse to do military service each year?

[Keleti] There were 160 young people serving prison terms for such crimes in the middle of August. A total of 13 young people refused to do military service in the last draft. [passage omitted]

[Kurcz] What does alternative military service mean in your interpretation?

[Keleti] It means one possibility of Army service. We introduced this system 12 years ago for religious believers whose religion forbids them to use firearms (Jehovah's Witnesses and Nazarenes). If I am not mistaken, we were among the first in Europe to introduce this alternative system.

[Kurcz] What does this alternative service mean in practice?

[Keleti] It means that these soldiers can choose between military service with firearms or without. If they choose the latter, they are transferred to a construction unit where they do not have any firearms, do not take an oath, and do not have to carry out armed guard duty either. [passage omitted]

Straub Presents Labor Award to Vancsa

LD1710135488 Budapest MTI in English 1248 GMT 17 Oct 88

[Text] Budapest, October 17 (MTI)—The Hungarian Presidential Council has awarded the Order of Merit of the Red Banner of Labour to Jeno Vancsa, minister of agriculture and food, for decades of outstanding manager's work, on the occasion of his 60th birthday.

The honour was presented by Bruno F. Straub, president of the Presidential Council. Present were Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Imre Katona, secretary of the Presidential Council.

Grosz, Delegation Depart for Visit to Iran

LD2510082288 Budapest MTI in English 0711 GMT 25 Oct 88

[Text] Budapest, October 25 (MTI)—On Tuesday Karoly Grosz, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, left on an official visit to Iran on the invitation of Mir Hosayn Musavi, prime minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Mr Grosz is accompanied by Minister of Industry Frigyes Berecz, Deputy Foreign Minister Gabor Nagy, government spokesman Gyorgy Maroson and Imre Szekacs, manager of Tesco [Organization for International Scientific and Technical Cooperation]. Deputy Minister of Trade Tibor Melega, Deputy Minister of Industry Gyula Sos and Zsigmond Kazmer, Hungarian ambassador accredited to the Islamic Republic of Iran, are to join the delegation in Tehran.

Karoly Grosz and his party were seen off at Ferihegy airport by Peter Varkonyi, minister of foreign affairs, Geza Kotai, head of the Foreign Affairs Department of the HSWP [MSZMP] Central Committee, and State Secretary Miklos Raft, head of the office of the Council

of Ministers. Also present was Mohammad Musa Hashemi Golpayegani, charge d'affaires ad interim of the Budapest Embassy of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Weekly Said To Support 'Radical' Soviet Reforms

AU1710152088 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 17 Oct 88 p 1

[Carl Gustaf Stroehm report: "Eastern Europe Is To Thoroughly Break With Stalinist System"]

[Text] Vienna—Hungary is in a "national alliance with the radical forces of Soviet perestroyka." This thesis is published in the latest edition of the German-language weekly BUDAPESTER RUNDSCHAU, which is close to the Budapest government. Hungary has a "national interest" in a Soviet reorganization that is as radical as possible.

So far, the forces of the "alternative turn" in the Soviet Union have succeeded in asserting themselves, the semi-official Budapest paper states. But, at the same time, an "imbalance" must be perceived, one which results from the Soviet intellectual and political dynamics on the one hand and the immobility in the economic and administrative sector on the other. The (Soviet) government and administrative apparatus—over whose head reorganization was decreed—is still the same neo-Stalinist apparatus that displays, at the same time, the alarming features of traditional czarist bureaucracy.

The Budapest paper foresees a "certain isolation" of Hungary in the near future. This can only be overcome if the break with the Stalinist system is caused "by the entire region"—that is, also by other East European states. Today the real chances of such a "turn" in the whole of Eastern Europe and how long it would take cannot yet be predicted, BUDAPESTER RUNDSCHAU states skeptically.

Precisely because Hungary has to reckon with the burdens of such an isolation —apparently, relations with the CSSR, the GDR, Romania, and Bulgaria are referred to here— Hungarian foreign policy has to fully concentrate on the "natural alliance with the radical reform wing in the Soviet Union." This also assumes that this alliance is strained as little as possible.

Official on Relations With Romanian Military

LD1410233888 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] Almost all aspects of Hungarian-Romanian relations have received close attention since the Arad summit meeting. Julia Tardos asked Lieutenant General Istavan Narai, deputy minister of defense, about an aspect of this relationship which is very far from the limelight.

[Begin recording] [Tardos] We know relatively little about Hungarian-Romanian military relations. It is perhaps surprising, therefore, that a high-ranking military delegation returned from Bucharest. Is there any special reason for this?

[Narai] I would not say that there is a special reason. There are regular bilateral military relations between the armies of the member states of the Warsaw Pact, concerning both delegations and consultations. We visited two military academies and a military school, which corresponds to our Army colleges. We also visited troops, namely a motor artillery unit. We agreed with our partners also in that we should establish links between our academies.

[Tardos] From what you have said it seems to me that what is involved here is normal, everyday, and often human relations. What was your reception like, in personal terms? What was the reception, the atmosphere like?

[Narai] They were considerate and answered all of our questions very correctly and fully.

[Tardos] Yes, but what this indicates is that politics do not infiltrate into the Army. I am sure that this is a superficial conclusion.

[Narai] No, quite naturally we largely discussed military, professional issues; we coordinated our views, exchanged our experiences—but the Army is not immune to politics. As the comrade minister of defense has said, and as we have also said, we must meet often, analyze our problems, and we must solve the tasks together in a positive manner. [end recording]

Foreign Correspondents Visit Military Academy

LD1810224688 Budapest MTI in English 2139 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] Budapest, October 18 (MTI)—A group of foreign correspondents working in Hungary got an inside view of life in the Hungarian People's Army on Tuesday [25 October]. This was the first time the Ministry of Defence had invited correspondents of the socialist and Western press for a joint visit.

In the morning, they visited Kossuth Lajos Military Academy in Szentendre, about 20 kilometres north of Budapest, and were briefed by Brigadier General Egon Szabo, deputy chief of the Political Division, on the work of the Hungarian People's Army and on topical isues of military policy. He said that the Hungarian People's Army had three missions formulated in a defence policy of 1968. The Army must guarantee peace in, and the sovereignty of, the country, and take part in the maintenance of internal order. Its two armed forces, the land forces and air defence, are equipped to meet these requirements. The extent of their development is

determined firstly by the strength of the opposing military alliance, by Hungary's alliance affiliation, and last, but not least, by the constraints of the Hungarian economy.

The direction training takes in the Hungarian People's Army is determined by a national military doctrine which has the same basic principles as those of the Warsaw Treaty military doctrine. Common military principles, such as the exclusion of offensive and territory-gaining intentions, the maintenance of necessary and sufficient defensive forces, and cooperation, are supplemented by special national features stemming from Hungary's history, geographical location and economic resources. On this score, the brigadier general said that efforts were being made to define Hungary's military doctrine more exactly and adjust the work of the Hungarian People's Army, and the size, structure and training of the Armed Forces, to the new world policy and economic requirements.

This adjustment involves the working out of a scheme of alternative military service. These ideas have come about from the recognition that defence of the country can be effected in many ways. The Ministry of Defence is represented on the working committee in charge of compiling the details and conditions of alternative military service. The committee is scheduled to put forward its compromise proposals in 1989. The main problem lies in an exact and suitably flexible definition of freedom of conscience.

After the briefing, the correspondents toured the academy.

Minister Kovacs Meets Counterpart in Ottawa

AU1310150088 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 7 Oct 88 p 6

[Text] At the invitation of the Canadian Foreign Ministry, Deputy Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs paid a visit to Ottawa on 4-5 October.

The Hungarian deputy minister and his host, Deputy Foreign Minister Jacques Roy, examined Hungarian-Canadian ties, with emphasis on the new opportunities that were opened up by the summit meeting held this July. The sides exchanged views on the international situation, East-West relations, arms limitation, and on the prospects of the Helsinki process.

Laszlo Kovacs was also received by James Taylor, secretary of state for external affairs.

Urban: Walesa Should Participate in Roundtable

LD2510142088 Warsaw PAP in English
1351 GMT 25 Oct 88

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 25—We propose that a preparatory meeting in advance of the round table talks, with the participation of Kiszczak and Walesa, be held on October 26. The round table plenary meeting could start on October 28 in Jablonna (outside Warsaw), Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban said at today's press conference.

Speaking about preparations for the round table talks, Urban said that two names were disputable. He added that the discussion with persons who do not observe the rules of the Constitution was pointless for agreement with them was not possible. He also appealed for agreement not to be hindered.

Walesa Rejects Kiszczak Preroundtable Meeting

LD2510150388 Hamburg DPA in German
1442 GMT 25 Oct 88

[Excerpts] (DPA)—Polish Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban asked workers leader Lech Walesa today to meet with Interior Minister Czeslaw Kiszczak on Wednesday [26 October] to discuss various problems in prepration of the "roundtable" talk. [passage omitted]

Concerning this, Walesa said on the telephone from Gdansk that he sees no sense in yet another meeting with Kiszczak prior to the "roundtable." He has discussed with him all personnel and technical questions. Problems still unresolved can be agreed upon through mediators as before. On no account will he give in as far as the composition of the Solidarity delegation is concerned, for this would set a "dangerous precedent for the future."

Roundtable Must Not Ignore Rakowski's Questions

LD2410223288 Warsaw PAP in English
2138 GMT 24 Oct 88

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 24—Two days ago, the government press spokesman once again stressed the desire of the authorities to start the "round table" debates as soon as possible. Technical details should not erase the chance of national agreement on the matters which are essential for today and tomorrow of the nation and the country, he said.

The need is becoming more urgent now when no man of good will can doubt that nominated was a decidedly pro-reformatory government which wants to make radical changes in the economy.

Such a government should have as its partner the broadest nationwide pro-reformatory coalition which can emerge in effect of "round table" talks. The Council of National Agreement which would also participate in the preparations for a new Sejm elections could become the organizational form of this coalition.

Some of the urgent subjects waiting for national agreement were drafted by Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski in his expose of Oct. 13. He addressed the society with eight clearly formulated questions which started with a phrase: Are you ready to accept the consequences of consistent actions (Q). [as received]

The next questions were i.a. shall we gain consent for a man to be looking for work and not the other way round (Q). In a market game there are not only winners but also losers. If we start it won't there be a faint-hearted cry that violated were principles of social justice (Q).

Will society, and particularly work establishments concerned, accept the consequences of lifting or at least reducing subsidies to unprofitable enterprises (Q).

Will there be a consent, not a verbal but a factual one, for consistent and just differentiation of pays (Q)

Levelling of wages used in postwar Poland for years and the slogan propagated by "Solidarnosc" eight years ago that "we all have identical stomachs" made that it will not be easy to get affirmative answers to these questions. Although verbally all are for reforms.

Therefore the questions of Premier Rakowski forwarded from the Sejm rostrum must not be ignored at the "round table".

Students Call For Extension of Boycott

AU2410211788 Paris AFP in English
2112 GMT 24 Oct 88

[Excerpt] Warsaw, Oct 24 (AFP)—Students at Krakow in southern Poland called Monday on colleagues in the rest of the country to join in their boycott of compulsory military training, an informed source there said.

The boycott, which began two weeks ago at the university in Krakow, has since spread to the schools of mines and fine arts, the polytechnic and other higher education institutions in the town. [passage omitted]

Students' Boycott Linked to NZS Demands

LD2410174588 Warsaw PAP in English
1655 GMT 24 Oct 88

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 24—In several Polish higher schools among other things in Krakow and Warsaw, students of some university departments have boycotted for a dozen or so days now, the military studies' classes and to a lesser degree classes from political economics and political sciences.

The demands to lift or reduce the military classes and the period of post-graduate military training must be shocking for all nationals of Poland who, not being students, served two-year mandatory military service and scrupulously performed their duty for homeland.

The problem of boycotting certain subjects of the university curriculum has a much wider context. It is no coincidence that it was organized in such a politically significant period for Poland. Undoubtedly, the point is to exert pressure on the authorities and on the preparations for the "round table", and it is no coincidence that the boycott is accompanied by slogans demanding the relegalization of NZS (Independent Students' Union). It is for another time that the opposition activists using demagogic slogans try to involve youth in a political game.

The protest actions in some higher schools are propagated by Polish sevices of Western broadcast stations, and particularly the RFE. The latter has launched an intensive manipulation-and-instruction campaign continuously informing listeners on how to organize boycotts and announcing names of people who lead the action.

Transcript of Urban's 18 Oct Press Conference

AU2410060188 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 19 Oct 88 pp 1, 5, 6

["Transcript" of press conference given by Government Press Spokesman Jerzy Urban at the INTERPRESS Center in Warsaw on 18 October]

[Text] Minister Jerzy Urban received foreign and Polish journalists at his weekly press conference. The transcript of the conference appears below.

Urban: The authorities wanted the "roundtable" to begin on Monday. The preparatory talks that have been held until now have produced a certain amount of progress on many issues, and they are being continued. However, we could not keep to the date scheduled for the beginning of the meeting, 17 October, because, among other things, the representatives of the Episcopate who have been designated to attend it are going to be in Rome until 24 October. The authorities resolutely wish to see a "roundtable" take place. It is our definite goal. After all, the "roundtable" is our initiative.

Preparatory talks are taking place at present, and we are adopting a constructive stance during them. We are seeking to find a basis for beginning such a meeting and ensuring that it produces good results. We are doing everything possible to bring this about.

However, there are grounds for fearing that not all the "roundtable" partners are guided by the same intention. There have been many developments that are disquieting, worrying, and justify such fears. For a couple of weeks now, that is, during preparations for the "roundtable," a number of scandalous events characterized by various kinds of excesses have been organized in various places and on various occasions. The participants in these events have acted in the name of Solidarity. Some banners that bore the Solidarity logo, some of this was shown on television, proclaimed, among other things: "Communism equals fascism," "Communism is the work of the devil," "Solidarity will defeat communism," "Jaruzelski's "roundtable" will collapse without bread and Holy Communion," and other things. The street fights that took place in Gdansk on Sunday—they started outside St Brygida's Church—were particularly disturbing. I think that they were a provocation intended to stop people from taking their places at the "roundtable." The protestors took to the streets with stones in their hands, they erected barricades with cafe tables, set fire to garbage cans, wrecked public property, and chanted: "There will be communists dangling from the trees instead of leaves," "A coffin is better than communism," "Confederation for an Independent Poland, Solidarity—we will win." Banners were unfurled bearing the words: "Solidarity continues to fight communism," and "Communism belongs on the trash heap of history."

This is a strange manifestation of the desire to reach agreement. However, this did not happen spontaneously and, it is no coincidence that it took place now. I think the organizers of this demonstration were seeking to torpedo agreement and upset the "roundtable," and they exploited the Solidarity symbol. I think they showed that they want to incite unrest on a much larger scale.

On 13 October there was a meeting in Warsaw between Bronislaw Geremek, Jacek Kuron, Janusz Onyszkiewicz, Taduesz Mazowiecki, and Zbigniew Bujak and representatives of the Confederation for an Independent Poland, "Fighting Solidarity," the Liberation Federation, the so-called Polish Socialist Party, the "Freedom and Peace" movement, the "Polish Politics" group, and the"Independence" Liberal Democratic Party. A communique was adopted describing a joint platform for the "roundtable" talks. Most of the people attending the meeting were anti-socialist extremists who oppose agreement with governing forces, such as "Fighting Solidarity," which supports the idea of violent conflict and the overthrow of the constitutional order, even if it involves the use of force.

However, we intend to hold talks only with those peoples and groups who want reform and not the destabilization of the state and the disruption of its basic functions. Agreement cannot be reached with people who have entirely different objectives. It is difficult to speak to people who shout about wanting to hang communists. In this kind of situation, the constructive pro-reform opposition must decide whether it wants to seek agreement contrary to the wishes of the extreme element, or whether it wants to get together with such extreme elements as: the Federation of Fighting Youth, which staged an appearance in Gdansk involving rocks, "Fighting Solidarity," and the Confederation for an Independent Poland.

The side effects of these events have made themselves felt in some colleges, where calls for the restoration of Solidarity have been linked with the boycotting of military training, and classes on political economy, sociology, and Russian. Thus, our efforts to achieve agreement

have been opposed by intransigence, extremism, and pig-headedness. All this creates a very disturbing series of facts and does not incline people to recommend that Solidarity should have a place in the future trade union movement model. This is because it shows that behind the name Solidarity there are a lot of destructive tendencies, confrontational tendencies that want to destabilize peace in Poland.

The legalization of Solidarity is still an aspiration, but under this name aggressive actions are already being staged by groups that are preparing an even greater degree of disruption for the Poles than the one that was imminent in December 1981. The impression one gets is that extremist elements are trying to scuttle the "roundtable" talks, which, if they were successful, would turn the Confederation for an Independent Poland and "Fighting Solidarity" into fringe groups to an even greater extent.

We are hoping that the realistic forces known as the constructive opposition will distance themselves from extremist groups and people, as well as from disruptive actions, slogans, and objectives. We also hope that society, with all its diversity of views and which desires peace and agreement, will counteract efforts to upset the "roundtable." This is because the excesses of extremist elements are directed against social hopes and expectations.

There are two other matters that I want to deal with, and the first of them is connected with what I have just said.

There was a boycott of classes in political economy at the Jagiellonian University [in Krakow]. The economic reform is entering its most dynamic phase and students at Poland's oldest college are refusing to learn about the principles of management. They are also demanding that sociopolitical studies, sociology, and Russian—the language of Tolstoy and glasnost—stop being compulsory subjects. There were similar moves at Warsaw University. This shows that there are people who want to turn their back on the present. If the curriculum were to be stripped of subjects that link education with today's world, we would have a generation of intellectuals who do not have the instruments necessary to understand what is happening in society and the economy, and they would not have the instruments needed to enjoy contacts with peoples living in a neighboring power. This would mean that prospects for Poland, its reforms, and its contacts with the rest of the world would be poor.

I do not have to explain that at leading Polish universities, economics and the social sciences are taught in a way that takes account of the various trends that exist in these disciplines and the achievements of world scholarship in all its diversity. Anyone who thinks that students are boycotting these classes, because they are some kind of biased, primitive political ABC classes would be offending faculty at the Jagiellonian University and the University of Warsaw.

Thus, some of the students' aspirations are heading in an absurd direction that is divested of any kind of discernment. Is the government meant to struggle with "student pranks." We think that the Polish Economics Society, the Polish Sociology Society, and teachers should explain to students the importance of disciplines that they would like to see removed from the body of knowledge a college graduate possesses. It should be explained to students that when they themselves want ignorance, then this makes their other aspirations and demands less serious.

I have already spoken about the business of boycotting or even picketing military training classes before. If these boycott efforts do not cease, the authorities will take appropriate action, and I think that there will be an unpleasant surprise for those involved in these scandalous actions.

Western Polish language radio stations have been carrying a whole lot of statements by interesting people explaining why representatives of the constructive opposition refused to join the Rakowski government. Aleksander Paszynski said that logic dictated that the new government should be established after the "roundtable," that is, once agreement had been reached on fundamental issues. Paszynski wondered whether this was not an attempt to pre-empt the decisions that would be reached at a "roundtable" and produce a fait accompli.

Mr Geremek concluded that entering the government at the invitation of the authorities would be an affirmation, as he put it, of the party's monopoly on government. In an interview for Radio Free Europe, Prof Witold Trzeciakowski said that first of all a broader form of pluralism must be introduced and a program agreed with the opposition must be drawn up, and then cooperation at the governmental level can be started.

Ernest Skalski, who writes for TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, said to Radio Free Europe that the government in Poland has no right to say anything and anyone who joined it would lose credibility without having any influence.

These arguments were more or less repeated in other statements, and there were several dozen of them. Most of these arguments cannot be accepted. The entry of members of the moderate government into the government would not, as Bronislaw Geremek said, be an affirmation of the party's monopoly on government, but would, in a very obvious way, be quite the opposite of that. It would be an important step on the road toward sharing power. Of course, it is not true, as Skalski said, that the government has no right to say anything, and that ministers have no influence on government. There are no grounds for taking issue with ideas for which there is no justification. Incidentally, as we know, in accordance with the aims of the Seventh and Eighth Central

Committee Plenums, the briefs of the Rakowski government and the party leadership are to be modified so that the role of the Council of Ministers as an executive body will greatly increase.

On the other hand, it is not possible to deny that the arguments put forward by Aleksander Paszynski and Witold Trzeciakowski are to some extent right, as in actual fact it would be more logical politically if things were to occur in the following order: first, the development of forms of representation, agreement about a program, and, as a result of this, cooperation in a government.

However, Deputy Ryszard Wojna was right in his speech that beginning the present stage in the process of reaching agreement with the inclusion of some realistic opposition figure in the government would influence the accord process in general, as well as agreement at the "roundtable" from within the government camp and would create cooperation and confidence. This means of aiding agreement was not used.

As for the direction of economic reforms and the basic trend toward democratization in political reform, there are no basic differences between, on the one hand, the political parties and the Rakowski reform-oriented government, and, on the other hand, the realistic, constructive wing of the opposition, which is counting on gradual change being achieved, not through conflict, but through agreement.

Finally, if a broader coalition government were to be established before the "roundtable" discussion, then this would be a positive development. It would constitute an important fact in the field of joint government, a fact that speaks louder than words. The government would not be an advisory body, but a team that is the nucleus of decisionmaking processes. It would make the intentions of the governing coalition more credible during "roundtable" talks, it would anticipate agreement in the desired direction, and it would signify the immediate attainment, without talks, of something that, I think, the constructive opposition wants by way of discussion about future participation in legislative and then executive bodies. This opposition tells us to make a move, and when we do in fact make a move at the highest level, that is, the governmental level, its response is that political logic does not tend toward beginning things by establishing a coalition government. I think this indicated that there was real fear in assuming genuine responsibility. It is easier to criticize, to issue demands than to make decisions and assume responsibility. So, I can well understand those people who, when invited to join the government, replied that they would prefer to stay on the sidelines and wait a little. However, this means that we wanted to put genuine accord into practice more quickly than the opposition, which is constantly calling for accord.

Of course, it is possible to have everything take place in a different order. First, there would be discussion about accord, then a council would be established that would put this accord into practice, there would be discussion about a program and political representation in parliament, and we would gradually move toward governmental cooperation, which is something that Premier Rakowski proposed immediately and this was an extraordinarily bold step. The people who turned down the offer of joining the government were afraid that should the government suffer a possible defeat, they too would be saddled with responsibility. Well, that is true, but if the government is successful, then it will be successful without the opposition that maintains that success is not possible without it. If the government scores a success, then all the political gains will be to the benefit of those political forces that make up the Rakowski government.

John Daniszewski, AP: Mr Minister, what concrete reasons are there for the "roundtable" not being called at the present time? Are there disagreements about representation, the actual form of the talks, or are there some indirect problems concerning certain people. Could you explain this?

Urban: As I said, the reason is that the representatives of the church who would take part in "roundtable" talks are not here at present, and the fact that talks concerning representation have not ended yet.

Boyden Marison, Voice of America: Members of the government, including yourself, have warned against taking any action that might have a negative impact on the atmosphere surrounding preparations for a "roundtable" meeting. If this is so, then how are we to interpret the series of articles that have appeared in TRYBUNA LUDU attacking opposition activists in a particularly malicious way, activists who are potential participants in such talks? Is this perhaps some form of extremist action on the part of the government? That is my first question. My second question is...

Urban: Please allow me to answer your first question, because radio and television would like me to do things this way.

I have no reason or any authority to reply on behalf of TRYBUNA LUDU. However, I would like to explain that the desire to hold talks and reach agreement does not mean that political appraisals should be abandoned or, for example, setting out the position of the party's organ on the activities of various people. There has been no propaganda moratorium. The other side is no less severe in its appraisals and attacks. I could open my briefcase and produce the texts of programs broadcast by the radio station that you represent and quote many harsh statements about political activities of our side. In short, there can be agreement about fundamental issues,

but with blurring one's identity and ceasing to engage in polemics. After all, this is the norm in public life that is based on differences of opinion.

Boyden Marison: Have the members of the government delegation that will attend the "roundtable" talks already been chosen?

Urban: Basically yes, but it is a question of the entire composition of all the people who will attend the "roundtable." Progress is being made in talks concerning this question.

John Daniszewski: Lech Walesa is considered a moderate. There are fears that his conciliatory influence on workers will be weakened if the authorities continue to put off the question of legalizing Solidarity and delay embarking on a course of reaching genuine agreement with society.

Urban: This kind of question should be addressed to the person that you mentioned, as his influence is his problem rather than mine. However, I would take issue with the claim that the authorities are seeking to delay the calling of a "roundtable." I spoke about this question for quite a long time and tried to show that this was not the case. Solidarity will certainly be one of the issues discussed at the "roundtable."

Franco Quintano, ANSA: Mr Minister, two new Council of Ministers committees—the Sociopolitical Committee and the Economics Committee—were established when the government met. What is the fate of the Committee for Law Observance, and the Maintenance of Public Order, which was headed by Czeslaw Kiszczak. Does the committee still exist or has it been dissolved?

Urban: The committee exists along with many other committees and councils that were established as instruments of government activity. The new government will conduct a review of those bodies that are probably too large and will determine which of them will continue to operate and which of them will stop working.

Renate Marsch, DPA: You said that the representatives of the church would return on 24 October. In view of this, is it now definite that the "roundtable" talks will begin next week? Who are you actually thinking of when you say that there are still some doubts about the makeup of the delegations?

Urban: I cannot really say that it is definite. I hope that it will soon be possible to start on the "roundtable."

You asked about who I was thinking of. For example, on the basis of information received from former Solidarity activist circles, the Western media have mentioned Mr Kuron and Mr Michnik. The basic problem is this: The offer made by General Czeslaw Kiszczak, who was the person who extended the invitation to attend the "roundtable," stated that everyone who recognizes the constitutional order and the rule of law can take a place at the "roundtable." It is difficult to place Messrs Michnik and Kuron in this category. I would just mention that Jacek Kuron recently said that if Solidarity is legalized the authorities will slowly collapse, but if it is not legalized, then the authorities will collapse quickly and violently. This provides little reason for recommending these people as possible participants in a "roundtable." After all, the "roundtable" is to result in agreement, not quarrels. However, it is always our position that does not matter where someone comes from, what matters is what they will bring to a "roundtable." So, if these people were to adopt a positive attitude toward constitutional principles, then a new situation worth considering would arise.

Alma Kadragic, ABC News: Mr Minister, is there any concrete proof that the people who took part in Sunday's demonstrations received any kind of instructions, advice, or recommendations from people or leaders connected with disbanded Solidarity union who would be participants in "roundtable" talks?

Urban: I have no material that would indicate this. I pointed out that it was undoubtedly the case that the demonstration set off from St Brygida's Church, which performs the role of a political center for the entire Solidarity community in Gdansk.

Alma Kadragic: I found what you said a moment ago rather worrying, as you said that the demonstration started off from a particular church, which you said was generally known for this type of activity. I recall that 4 years ago when Father Popiekluszko was killed, by members of the Ministry of Internal Affairs as it turned out, you warned that it was wrong to connect this specific matter with the general position of the authorities or the Ministry of Internal Affairs. So, why do you connect this one incident, which was a typical act of hooliganism, with the leaders of Solidarity?

Urban: In view of the fact that Solidarity slogans appeared during the demonstration, that it had been planned, because banners had been prepared, and that it started out from the church that is headquarters of the leaders of the disbanded Solidarity union and not from somewhere else.

I am rather surprised about these doubts, because we are not in a courtroom where precise proof is needed, but I am among a group of people who have a certain amount of political experience, and I do not have to explain that some extremist forces who used the name Solidarity organized this prank and it was no coincidence that it took place on the eve of the "roundtable."

Besides, if these accusations or suggestions that I made were off the mark, then people belonging to Solidarity circles have a full opportunity to disassociate themselves

from the demonstration, and they still have an opportunity to do so. If they do not do so, although the name of their organization was used, this means that they do not feel a need to distance themselves from such events.

Luigi Geninazzi, AVVENIRE: Mr Minister, you said that the "roundtable" talks could not begin on Monday, because the Episcopate's representatives are not in Poland. However, Bishop Dabrowksi and Father Orszulik, who took part in preparations for the talks, left today, 2 hours ago, and they were in Warsaw on Monday. In view of this, could you tell us what the real reason is for the delay in starting the "roundtable" talks?

Urban: I said that this was one the reasons. I also mentioned other reasons, such as the fact that talks on setting up the "roundtable" are still in progress. According to my information, which is accurate, the people who are to represent the church at the "roundtable" will be in Rome until 24 October. However, I do not know which persons connected with the church this applies to.

Stefan Kownacki, Radio Polonia: A Father Witucki, who calls himself general, recently appeared at St Brygida's Church, and the parish priest also uses the rank of colonel or commander. Should the Polish Government not protest for the sake of the dignity of military ranks?

Urban: Please do not try to get us to engage in some ridiculing. The government does not interfere in children's games, even when they are being played by adults. I understand that Father Witucki was given the rank of general by an institution called the Supreme Command of Allied Armed Forces, European Domestic Front. Nobody has heard of anything like this before, and it would seem that the one courageous act of this command has been to bestow a rank on an eldery priest. Father Jankowski receives military ranks and increasingly higher decorations from the so-called London government. I myself saw the priest walking about one Western embassy in evening dress and wearing a whole array of operetta-like decorations, and he was followed by a body guard.

We should envy Albania, which has a king in exile, whereas all we have is a president. If there were a Polish king in London, then Father Jankowski would be a count or a marquis by now, the Grand Master of the Royal Hunt of Gdansk, a chamberlain, and an equerry.

Poland is a free country where everyone can make of himself what he will. The only sad thing is that no one can make himself such a laughing stock with titles and decorations taken from an operetta that he ceases to be an authority for the youngsters who left St Brygida's Church, Father Jankowski's parish church, to go out into the streets of Gdansk and shout about hanging communists, to throw rocks at the militia, to set fire to garbage cans, and erect barricades from cafe tables.

Deborah Seward, NEWSWEEK: In a recent interview for PAP, Jozef Czyrek said that the "roundtable" talks should end after 3 to 4 weeks. Do you think that this will still be the case once the talks actually start?

Urban: That is what was assumed, but it was not some kind of schedule, which is something that will be worked out by participants in the "roundtable" once they meet. It is difficult to predict things at the moment. Let us wait until the "roundtable" meets.

Zbigniew Satala, GAZETA KRAKOWSKA: As a citizen of Krakow, I would like to ask this question on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the Pope's pontificate. How does the government assess the Pope's contribution to national accord in Poland?

Urban: We express respect for the Pope's efforts to bring about reconciliation and ease conflicts. The authorities' feelings are expressed in a letter from General Jaruzelski that Kazimierz Barcikowski has taken to Rome. Evelina Maitret, Mexican Television: Mr Minister, yesterday the new education minister said that the National Union of Students would not be legalized. This was said at a time when according to legal regulations, all organizations and associations can be made legal by appropriate municipal administration departments. Should an application be turned down, an organization then has a right to appeal to the ministry of internal affairs. Does this not seem somewhat excessive and rash at a time when the new law on associations will provide new solutions with respect to student organizations? Urban: I am not familiar with the statement that you mentioned. However, current regulations, and the regulations that might be contained in the new law on associations, certainly do not and would not ensure the legal existence of an organization that organizes such drastic illegal acts that are harmful to fundamental national defense interests as calling for the boycotting and picketing of classes that are part of performing military service. These types of actions are the most telling reply to the question of the possibility of legal activity for an organization of this kind.

Apart from the anti-state aspect that is damaging to defense interests, these actions also have an unpleasant ethical quality. As we know, people who are the same age as students but are not studying spend more time in the Armed Forces and more is expected of them. Students are privileged, but nevertheless, they would seem to prefer to rid themselves of this more modest burden and to have no duties toward their own country at all.

Of course, I am speaking about those students who are involved in these actions.

Evelina Maitret, Mexican Television: Mr Minister, actually you replied to my first question, noting that certain groups are opposed to the principles of the Constitution and vio??te it. This kind of remark about violating the Constitution often appears in your statements as well as

in statements made by many members of the party and the government. Yet, if I remember correctly, the PPR Constitution was produced in 1952, that is, during what could be described as the worst period of Stalinism. Thus, I would like to ask the following: When Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski announced a struggle against the last vestiges of Stalinism in Poland was he also thinking of certain constitutional amendments that would finally put an end to the problem of Stalinism?

Urban: In any event, Premier Rakowski did not announce a struggle against the Constitution, irrespective of when it appeared. The Constitution remains in force until it is amended or changed, because a general principle in every country that observes the rule of law is that laws can be changed, but they cannot be broken.

To alleviate some of your concern, I would like to tell you that, regardless of the charges that one can make about the Constitution, which was produced during a different time, bad practices rather than bad words were a basic feature of the Stalinist period.

The government is and will be one of the elements in Poland that believes that the Constitution should be amended. It also supports the idea of work on a new Constitution for the future. However, you would be wrong to associate this with the picketing of military training classes, because it should not be expected that any future Constitution will contain no provisions concerning the duty to defend one's country and perform military service.

Boyden Marison, Voice of America: I have another three questions. However, only one of them is about the "roundtable." The rest are about Premier Rakowski's new government. First, are the authorities not afraid that the moods of society, especially those of the young generation, may become more tense and cause another wave of protests because of the delays in reaching a decision on "Solidarity's" legalization and the postponement of the "roundtable"?

Urban: First, I have already explained that the authorities are delaying and postponing nothing. They want the talks to start as soon as possible. Second, we think the reason behind the young generation's dissatisfaction is the poor material situation of many people; negative prospects in life, which young people tend to exaggerate anyway; and dissatisfaction with the situation in Poland or inside various communities. I am not such an optimist as to suppose that the "roundtable" will cause a radical improvement in people's moods. I think people's moods can be improved by effective socioeconomic activity by the authorities and government, and by an improvement in the economic situation, plus of course by broad political reforms extending to cities and rural areas, in other words spheres of life that surround the average citizen.

Boyden Marison: Proceeding to Premier Rakowski's new government, many people believe that key decisions are still being made by the party or Politburo, not the government. Therefore, can one expect changes in the PZPR leadership?

Urban: I neither have any knowledge of this subject or the authority to say anything about it. I am merely the government's spokesman. But we know from the documents of the latest party plenum that the plenum had announced changes in the party leadership.

Boyden Marison: Lastly, are there any plans for foreign trips by Premier Rakowski yet, and has it been decided which capitals he will visit? Will he visit Moscow first, or Washington, or perhaps Bonn?

Urban: Moscow. He is paying a working visit to Moscow this week, and will meet with key Soviet politicians. The Soviet Union is our closest ally and largest trade partner, and it is logical for a new premier to make his first trip to Moscow in order to establish contacts.

A short visit to a Western country is also foreseen, but none of the ones you mentioned.

Stefan Dietrich, FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG: Today, we read in the press that the submission of the national economy consolidation plan has been postponed until the beginning of December. However, spending the $250 million on emergency investments has not been postponed. How does the government justify the fact that money is spent first and a plan on how to spend it is presented later?

Urban: The consolidation plan is not a plan on how to spend $250 million. It is a plan of economic changes of far greater scope and material importance.

The sum of money you mentioned is to pay for emergency imports, mainly production resources in order to improve market supplies. This is an emergency measure. However, what money should be spent on will be described in the future consolidation plan, which gives human needs, in other words market needs, priority over other needs.

In concert with the Sejm, it has been decided to postpone the plan's submission to the Sejm until 10 December. The government was to have submitted it in November. But the reason for the delay is the change in government, plus the fact that the new government will work out its own new consolidation plan, though this new plan will contain some concepts that were prepared earlier, not by the previous government, but mainly by external bodies.

In addition, this plan must be submitted to the Sejm with an entire packet of accompanying documents without which it would be incomplete. I mean next year's economic plan, changes in the budget, and an entire series of similar essential documents.

Bernard Lecomte, L'EXPRESS: Can you confirm the fact that a memorial to Marshal Pilsudski is to be unveiled in Katowice on 11 November?

Urban: I know there are efforts to bring to Katowice a Pilsudski memorial that exists in Yugoslavia. I read about this in the press. No doubt, Jozef Pilsudski's services will be commemorated in some way in connection with the 70th anniversary of Polish independence. Since you ask for my opinion, I want to express it in such a way that opinions in the PPR about the life and work of Jozef Pilsudski will not be biased. However, one should not go to the other extreme and create a meaningless apotheosis of him. Pilsudski has his place in Polish history. He is a figure about whom opinions cannot become biased with the passing of time. He performed services in creating an independent Polish state. However, his successors have Bereza on their conscience, while he himself has Brzesc on his. He is not a symbol of democracy; after all, General Sikorski and his followers criticized him the most. In a nutshell, we believe one should restore to Jozef Pilsudski his rightful place in Polish history, but this should be an objective place, based on a balance between his services and errors and on an analysis of the faults of the political line he represented. It is characteristic that we have so many plaques commemorating persons killed, but no one has ever offered to set up a plaque to commemorate the several hundred who were killed during Pilsudski's military coup d'etat in 1926.

Henryk Sroczynski, GLOS ROBOTNICZY: What made the government reinstate the Council of Ministers Sociopolitical Committee? Does Premier Rakowski intend to give it some special powers?

Urban: The government has quite simply set up two committees, one dealing with economic affairs and the other with sociopolitical ones, in order to improve government procedures and accelerate government work, and also in order to provide forums at which ministers in charge of similar spheres can exchange views.

Andrzew Tarnowski, REUTER: Two questions on the "roundtable." What would the government say if "Solidarity" refused to change its representatives? In other words, would the government consent to sit at the same table as Kuron or Michnik?

Urban: I have already spoken on this subject, but you never listened.

Tarnowski: Could you repeat what you said? I really did not hear it.

Urban: We will arrange for you to receive a transcript of the press conference.

Tarnowski: My second question on the "roundtable": You said recently that the demonstration by 700 young people in Gdansk casts a shadow on the "roundtable" and makes it look as if "Solidarity" is not an honest partner for dialogue. Did you not say this deliberately in order to deceive us? I remember you describing several simultaneous demonstrations in various cities, attended by thousands of people, as insignificant. Yet now you are saying that a demonstration involving a few hundred people is ruining a historic chance for an accord. Does this not signify a weakening of the government's will to hold these talks and achieve concrete results? Is your purpose not to show that "Solidarity" is a partner with whom one cannot talk?

Urban: No. Your interpretation of my intentions is wrong. Your entire speech is wrong. So as not to repeat what I already said in my introduction, I will merely tell you why I consider this demonstration to be one that cannot be ignored. It has raised an aggressive use of political slogans and aggressive behavior to a new level. The participants threw stones and milk bottles at the militia and set fire to containers. In a word, they tried to provoke reaction from the militia. This was a kind of political wildness to which we are not accustomed. That is why I connected this demonstration and still connect it with a desire to destroy social relations, make accord difficult, and prevent the "roundtable" from taking place. I consider this to be a demonstration against the "roundtable." One cannot ignore it. Besides, there were other, less political events that are unusual in Poland, in the form of unrest by a gang of punks in the Zaspa district. This took place at the same time as the demonstration, but had no political connotations.

Kay Withers, BALTIMORE SUN: I have two questions about the "roundtable." First, I would like an explanation about the TRYBUNA LUDU article which criticizes some members of the opposition. Does this article reflect the official party stance or only the stance of certain parts of it?

Urban: No article contains the official stance of the entire party because views within the party are varied, and even party writers have varied views. If you think articles like this are inspired by some group of hardliners at odds with the leadership, I can assure you are mistaken. Please consider this to be a normal phenomenon whereby a party paper is conducting political polemics with party opponents.

Kay Withers: Last week, Premier Rakowski said he planned to meet with General Siwicki to discuss certain changes to military spending and a transfer of military resources to places or spheres where they are most needed. Did the meeting take place, and what are its results? If they did not take place, when will they do so?

Urban: Premier Rakowski said that he wanted to discuss ways of using military resources, in other words materiel and experts, for economic purposes and to even greater

advantage. In other words, an army that already helps the economy could help it even more in these difficult times. I do not know the date of the meeting. In any case, dates of meetings between the premier and ministers are never announced; that would be too formal. As far as I know, this meeting has not yet taken place. When it does, we will tell you.

Franco Quintano, ANSA: Can one expect a Central Committee plenum before the "roundtable," and if so, would it be another reason to delay the start of the talks?

Urban: No, one cannot expect a plenum this month, and plans to hold a plenum have nothing to do with the "roundtable." The party has publicized its stance vis-a-vis the roundtable.

Alma Kadragic, ABC News: I know you cannot tell us an exact date for the "roundtable," but can we assume it will start on Monday, 24 October? We also know that Mrs Thatcher will visit Poland from 2 to 4 November, and 1 November is a great holiday in Poland. Therefore are we right to assume that the "roundtable" will not start before the second half of November?

Urban: We hope it will start earlier, still in October. We will see.

Peter Klebnikov, NEW YORK TRIBUNE: Two months have gone by since the August strikes, and 125 miners who took part in them are still out of work. Is it true that Premier Rakowski has asked the mine managements to reinstate them?

Urban: I have no such information, but it is possible for me not to know. I know that it is the authorities' intention to let anyone work who wants to work. But each independent enterprise is different, and relations between the management and the work force are different in each. Rules also differ. As a result, some of these issues are delayed, and some remain unsolved despite general political intentions. Please understand that the independence of enterprises is not an ornament, it is reality. Therefore, these matters lie within the scope of enterprise managements, and different people have different views concerning workers issues.

Deborah Seward [no affiliation given]: The writer Tadeusz Konwicki suggested in some newspaper that the Palace of Culture and Science in Warsaw be turned into a memorial to the victims of Stalinism. According to what Premier Rakowski has said, one should settle accounts with the past and Stalinism. Therefore, what is the government's stance toward this suggestion by Mr Konwicki?

Urban: I can assure you that Premier Rakowski did not say a lot of nonsense. If he said that the vestiges of Stalinism must be weeded out of the past, he meant a profound restructuring of the social and political relations in which vestiges of the Stalinist era are still to be found, and quite strong vestiges, too. The Palace of Culture performs a useful cultural and educational purpose. It is an old, expensive gift from the Soviet people. It is not burdened with any evil connotations. It is simply a memorial to selfless friendship, even though architecturally, this friendship has not assumed beautiful proportions.

This building arose at the same time as the rest of Warsaw. It is not connected with the atrocities of that era, and there is no reason to connect it. Various writers have various useless ideas.

Monika Olejnik, Polish Radio Third Program: This is probably the last question in this week's conference. Therefore...

Urban: Why are you closing my conference?

Olejnik: I think I am.

Urban: The Third Program of the Polish Radio is becoming increasingly self-confident.

Olejnik: I am very sorry. I wanted to know which opposition you associate with the Gdansk events, the constructive one or destructive one, because you mentioned the opposition twice. The first time, you said that the opposition should do something constructive, and the second time you said that the constructive opposition has the possibility of dissociating itself from these events.

Urban: It is certain that these events are the work of the destructive opposition, which wants to hinder the constructive opposition's participation in the "roundtable." That is how you can interpret my statement.

Olejnik: In that case, why did you mention the constructive opposition twice?

Urban: Look, if someone throws stones at the militia and sets fire to containers, this is not a sign of constructive opposition, but destructive opposition. All I said was that if this other part of the opposition with whom we would like to sit at the "roundtable" wants to make its policy clear, it ought to condemn excesses like these, or at least dissociate itself from them.

I was replying to a question from Mrs Alma Kadragic, who asked me how one could tell that the opposition was controlling this demonstration, and suggested that perhaps it was the work of spontaneous and non-political hooliganism. I said if that was the case, the political leaders of the parish of St Brygida could have said so, and then everything would have been clear.

John Daniszewski, AP: Do you consider one's dissociation from this demonstration as a condition to take part in the "roundtable"? You did say there were no conditions. Second, when Premier Rakowski goes to Moscow to meet with President Gorbachev, will he discuss the "roundtable"?

Urban: I said nothing about any condition to take part in the "roundtable." I spoke about phenomena that ruined the climate preceding the "roundtable." The Gdansk street demonstration, which was unusual for Polish political customs, was such a phenomenon. I said all this while replying to a question that had nothing at all to do with conditions for the "roundtable," but one which asked me how I knew that some political forces were behind the demonstration. I also associated this demonstration with the 13 October assembly in Warsaw, and so on. I hope this lengthy expose of mine will be clearer to you when you have it on paper.

Peter Johnsson, GOETEBORGS POSTEN, Sweden: Even though I agree that bad practice is always worse than bad theory, I was very surprised when, replying to a question from the Mexican reporter, you said that Stalinism was evil in deeds but not in words. Does that mean that parts of Stalinist theory are still valid and are still being applied to socialist construction?

Urban: I meant that the Polish Constitution of 1952 has many beautiful expressions and defines various liberties, and I said that the problem was that these liberties did not work in practice, not that they were not contained in the Constitution.

Matt Hoviseppa, KANSAN UUTISET, Finland: In July, the Sejm passed a law on alternative military service. How does this law work in practice? Have all those wishing to undergo alternative service been able to do so?

Urban: As you know, there are boards which verify the truth of the explanations given. I know that in Poland, there are some several hundred people who have applied for alternative military service. My office will try to provide the exact figure. In any case, I can say that the figure is several hundred, but I do not know how many hundreds; about 300 or 400.

Christopher Bobinski, FINANCIAL TIMES: What was the extent of the strikes or the danger of strikes this month and last month? Can I repeat my wish that the column "Working Days Lost Through Strike Action" be restored to Main Statistical Office publications?

Urban: I conveyed your wish a very long time ago, and the Main Statistical Office replied that it would comply.

There were no legal or illegal strikes, if one takes "strike" to mean the appointment of a strike committee and a putting forth of demands. However, there was a certain amount of work stoppages. I am not saying this in order to play with words, but to differentiate between various phenomena, for example when a group of workers stops work and says it will not resume until the employer does this or that. There were several occurrences like this. It happens almost every day, though the number of such cases is small. Another form of protest, more widespread, is a failure to collect wages.

Juergen Vietig, SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG: How does the government assess the official talks between Mr Unland, chairman of the Bundestag Economic Commission, and was there any noticeable reaction in Bonn to Premier Rakowski's remarks on Polish-FRG relations?

Urban: No, we are still waiting for such a reaction.

Marek Kassa, Polish Radio: There are rumors that Jozef Czyrek is to replace General Czeslaw Kiszczak at the "roundtable." Can you confirm or deny it?

Urban: I know nothing about this.

Christopher Bobinski, FINANCIAL TIMES: I would like to return to my question and ask for a comparison between the present situation and the one in August. Which industries were affected by the work stoppages? For example, one hears that there were increased wage demands in the agricultural and food industry in September.

Urban: Sir, I have information on every such event, but have no collective analysis at my disposal. I cannot rely on my memory. In any case, there was no escalation of such demands in September compared with August. But this information is not based on an analysis, but on press reports. That does not mean there are not many wage disputes. There are many, they assume various forms, and are frequently on the subject of specialized factory issues connected with such things as bonuses or delayed payments from some source.

Renate Marsch: You said there are no conditions for the "roundtable," and yet you also said that if Michnik and Kuron make their stance vis-a-vis the Constitution known, the situation would be different. Does that mean some kind of declarations of loyalty from "Solidarity" would be a condition for the government to accept it as a participant?

Urban: What do you mean by declaration of loyalty? No one expects a declaration of loyalty to the government from Michnik and Kuron. That is an absurd question. I said that participation in the "roundtable" is based on the principles contained in General Kiszczak's statement, in other words no preconditions, discussion on every subject, and everyone who respects the law and constitutional order being invited. Because no one is born with a particular political orientation, we profess the principle that it does not matter where one comes from. In other words, we do not look to the past, but seek partners according to today's attitudes and activity. In

that case, the "roundtable" is also open to those who, though they might have been in conflict with constitutional principles in the past, might declare a different intention today.

DIE PRESSE: I refer to the latest Consultative Council session, where one of the participants suggested that the authorities abandon the construction of the nuclear plant in Kempicz. Several weeks ago, the Gdansk biweekly GWIAZDA MORZA [MARITIME STAR] carried an article which said that the authorities plan to build a nuclear plant in Darlowo, on the coast near Gdansk. This means a third site. Do the authorities really intend to abandon Kempicz and build a third nuclear plant on the coast?

Urban: It is not true that the authorities chose a location for a nuclear plant and now want to change it. The truth is that a search is being made all over the country for the best place to build nuclear plants. Various experts are conducting the search. A special team has been appointed, which is cooperating with the Polish Academy of Sciences. Near Darlowo is a place called Kopan, one of the places which is being examined as a possible site. There are many possible sites that are being examined.

Warsaw PZPR Committee Meeting Held 29 Sep

AU0510090388 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Sep 88 p 6

[Irena Szaczkus report: "What Delegates Have To Say"]

[Text] "A quarrel inside a party circle is like a family quarrel. We are not unanimous and do not have to be. We have to support and convince one another, and I think it would be a good idea to reread the 10th congress program. There is an urgent need for the ideological conference, which should be prepared by all voivodship party cells, including the Warsaw cell," said Janina Balczerak.

Polemics like these, plus disputes and attempts to convince others, made up yesterday's (29 September) meeting between Janusz Kubasiewicz, PZPR Politburo candidate member and first secretary of the Warsaw PZPR Committee; and Warsaw delegates to the 10th PZPR Congress. The meeting was not characterized by courtesy. The speeches it contained were sharp and businesslike.

The Warsaw party committee, the second largest in Poland, contains many people of a high intellectual calibre. Therefore, it could play a major role in the country's political and economic life. And yet questions are constantly being asked about strategy, and controversies arise every time the subject of accord and struggle crops up. Delegate Janina Balczerak's remark about the need to re-examine the documents of the last congress seems very timely.

The talks addressed the need to raise ideological problems in the party to a new status. This is what delegate Wieslaw Jasinski said:

"We were a government party, and the collapse of a government signifies a political crisis. We should consider whether the party model is not out of date, and whether we should not reform the party at the same time as the economy."

Wladyslaw Fidzinski: "We said that the ninth congress abolished prominent figures and the information network. And yet our comrades in primary party organizations claim that what they say is never analyzed. No one hears them, until in the end tension breaks out. The party's role as an agitator is dubious, and its propaganda does not get through to the people it is addressed to."

As a doctor, W. Fidzinski also complained about the lack of investments in the health service: "They have been treating Warsaw like the capital of a voivodship, instead of the capital of a country."

Addressing the meeting, Janusz Kubasiewicz said: "Comrade Fidzinski speaks sharply and tends to exaggerate, and then it is easy to be inconsistent. Indeed, many communities do not view party affairs the way they really are. Some comrades insist that the situation is so bad that another extraordinary congress is called for. This is a hasty statement. There is also excessive haste in blaming the party for the fact that the government was not recalled sooner, whereby people forget or do not know that this is the Sejm's responsibility.

"It is too easy to criticize. We tend to criticize achievements, but feel no obligation to present even better ideas," J. Kubasiewicz continued. "Other party members often accuse us here in Warsaw of dealing with trivial matters, for example the functioning of shops and schools, and discussing things like shop opening hours and the availability of sausages. In fact, we have adopted the policy of taking small steps first, because one cannot solve all problems at once. I hope the comrades will forgive my bluntness, but there was a time when rank and file members really did solve problems, whereas today their activity is often confined to attending meetings and reaching conclusions, the implementation of which is never checked."

Many other matters were discussed. Stanislaw Oleskiewicz recalled that the referendum and people's council elections were never given an objective assessment by the party authorities. S. Maciatkiewicz asked: "Perhaps the party should concentrate more on political awareness and less on economic affairs? What will the 'roundtable' achieve? What is the purpose of the planned private talks with PZPR members?" Andrzej Urbanski wondered what the party's role in the new pattern of politics could be.

There is still some time to go before the National PZPR Conference next year, and a great many subjects to discuss during the party accountability and programmatic campaign. One should make an honest assessment of the performance of programs and implementation of resolutions, so that the National PZPR Conference may concentrate on general issues.

The meeting ended. The delegates said it had been necessary.

Baka Addresses Party Secretaries on Economy

AU1210193588 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6 Oct 88 pp 1,3

[PAP report on speech by Wladyslaw Baka, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee, at the conference of first secretaries of PZPR factory committees in Warsaw on 5 October]

[Text] Wladyslaw Baka presented an exhaustive assessment of the country's present social, economic, and political situation. He recalled that the eighth plenum had made important decisions about how to solve basic economic problems. The period of time since this plenum has confirmed the correctness of the plenum's assessments and conclusions, said W. Baka. Industrial output and productivity is not providing any cause for alarm. The Central Annual Plan is being fulfilled. The foreign trade situation is favorable. Nevertheless, we must pay particular attention to the problem of financial and market equilibrium because, despite the fact that the economy is functioning smoothly and management has clearly become more efficient, market difficulties still exist, and these have led society to believe that our economic system is incompetent. Therefore, it is becoming essential to provide an honest explanation about the reasons behind this state of affairs, present a forecast of further economic development, and concentrate on adopting correct conclusions.

The results achieved so far show that it is possible to increase supplies of market goods by about 4 percent. Sales of nonfood commodities should increase by about 6 percent, and sales of food by 3 percent. However, these increases offer no guarantee that the situation will improve, because incomes are still rising faster than the supply of goods to the market, the food market is still shaky, and there continues to be a profound shortage of some industrial goods.

The same thing was said at the seventh and eighth plenums, W. Baka continued. As a result, the government adopted emergency measures in order to increase the supply of market goods. An extra $250 million was made available in order to pay for imports of materials and finished products. The contracts that have been signed with industrial plants so far permit one to expect that this amount of foreign currency will lead to an extra Z350-400 billion worth of supplies to the market. Most of these goods will reach the shops in November and December.

This does not mean that the problem is solved, said W. Baka. The point is that all plants and other economic units should take full advantage of the possibility of increasing market supplies, which will be encouraged by means of income tax concessions for those enterprises that increase their output in order to improve these supplies. This purpose may also be served by means of additional output by enterprises that produce goods for supply or investment purposes. It would be a good idea to apply the experience of other countries in this regard, including the Soviet Union. The underlying principle of this solution is that this extra output should compensate for money paid out of wage funds.

We must pay closer attention to the question of safeguarding the market in the face of reform processes, W. Baka said. So far, this issue has not been fully appreciated. Market production has been increasing more slowly than total production. This situation has to be reversed. This could be done by restructuring the investment process and gearing our economic system more closely to the market, but a lot also depends on the party making society aware of the importance of this problem.

The decisions made as a result of the seventh and eighth plenum resolutions have already achieved certain results, said W. Baka. There are fewer and fewer cases where supplies of a particular commodity in a particular month in 1988 are less than supplies of the same commodity during the same month in 1987. However, this positive result is canceled out by high spending. That is the main reason for the disruptions in the continuity of sales. The drain on the market has reduced stocks of goods in shops.

This issue is closely connected with the question of prices. Between January and August 1988, prices rose by about 50 percent compared to the same period last year, but incomes rose by about 60 percent. Because of this, the inflation gap is widening and liquid assets are increasing. Thus, the curbing of price increases, in a way that takes into account social moods and opinions, carries a certain "price" of its own. We must accept the fact that it will be difficult to bring the market situation under control this year. In the future, a lot will depend on the effectiveness of the mechanisms designed to curb an excessive outflow of money. After much talking, it was decided not to freeze prices and wages, but instead to introduce further mechanisms for controlling wages. The results of this move are not yet clear, but we do know that continuing wage demands are doing nothing to improve the situation. If incomes continue to rise excessively, it will be necessary to apply further measures in order to stop the market from weakening. The plan to consolidate the national economy will depend on financial and market equilibrium. That is why at its latest

session, the Politburo decided that monthly assessments of the financial and market situation are necessary, with particular emphasis on the growth of prices and wages.

W. Baka devoted the next part of his speech to the proposed State-Social Commission on Prices and Incomes Policy. The concept behind this commission has already been presented to the public, he said. The commission should commence operations immediately following the formation of the new government.

W. Baka devoted the final part of this speech to the plan to consolidate the national economy. The draft of this plan, he said, is being prepared by Central Committee subcommissions responsible for economic and social affairs, with the participation of many social groups and experts. This draft will place upon party members in the government and the Sejm the commitment to coordinate the final version of the plan with the party line. This is particularly important in view of the new structure of relations between the party and government. A party version of the draft plan, defining a series of tasks, will enable the party to control the implementation of the plan's provisions without interfering directly in current economic policy and decisionmaking. Referring to the main purposes of the consolidation plan, W. Baka said that, by means of a correct application of forces and resources, inflation will be brought under control, equilibrium restored, and the zloty reinforced. Priority tasks also include curbing environmental damage, breaking the deadlock in housing construction and, again by means of a suitable concentration of forces and resources, making it compulsory to economize on fuels and energy in order to avoid a crisis in this sphere.

The plan is geared to a clear change in monetary policy. It does away with the liberal treatment of price increases. Only those markets which have complete equilibrium and competition will be free of interference concerning prices.

The consolidation plan and its implementation will give rise to many discrepancies between parochial and national interests, W. Baka concluded. Hence the importance of political and ideological work to make people understand the chosen path and win their support. The plan ought to be a subject of the "roundtable" talks, because its objectives lie in the interests of the whole society, and everyone should take part in reaching these objectives.

Party Meeting Views National PZPR Conference

AU1310151588 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8-9 Oct 88 p 3

[Anna Pawlowska report: "The More Pluralism There Is, The More Important the Party's Identity Becomes"]

[Excerpts] The private talks currently being held with all party members half way through the party authorities' term of office are dictated by the provisions of the party statute, and also by the need for periodic presentations of internal party opinion.

This year the political temperature of events has risen. That was the conclusion reached by a meeting of political secretaries of PZPR voivodship committees held at the Central Committee on 7 October. [passage omitted]

The meeting discussed the preparations for the forthcoming National Conference of PZPR Delegates and its purpose. It was said that the chief purpose is to make as large a proportion of the party as possible politically and ideologically energetic, tighten the bonds between individual members, attract their attention to the problems of individual communities, and achieve an ideological consolidation of the party on the basis of the decisions of the Seventh Central Committee Plenum. [passage omitted]

The meeting was chaired by Politburo member Jan Glowczyk. Introductions were delivered by Stanislaw Gabrielski, director of the Central Committee Political-Organizational Department; and Kazimierz Cypryniak, Central Committee secretary.

PPR Ministers Council Meets 3 Oct

AU1210103688 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5 Oct 88 p 2

[PAP report: "Council of Ministers Meets"]

[Text] Recalling that the PPR Sejm, in a resolution of 19 September 1988, entrusted the Council of Ministers with the discharging of duties until a new government is formed, the Government Press Office reports that the Council of Ministers met on 3 October under the chairmanship of Zbigniew Szalajda to examine matters requiring immediate attention.

It was decided to raise salaries of non-faculty college employees. Changes were made to wage tables for some employees paid out of the budget.

The Council of Ministers increased the number of economic units that are entitled to sums that are exempt from the tax on supernumerary pay. Until now, this was only granted to economic units where the actual wage ratio index was lower than the normative one, which is calculated on the basis of a comprehensive assessment of wages, and by an amount of 20 percent or more. At the present time, this right regarding tax exempt amounts was also granted to units that deviate from the usual model by between 10 and 19 percent. The decision that has been taken makes it possible to effect an institutional improvement in wage ratios in units and sectors where there are deviations from ratios that are not justified by the level of difficulty of the work performed and the results that are obtained.

The Council of Ministers reached a decision about support for the construction of the Center for the Health of the Polish Mother Memorial Hospital involving an additional sum of Z5.5 billion, which ensures that this

socially important investment project will be continued. Five million dollars were also allocated for the purchase of the medical equipment and apparatus needed for the hospital.

The Council of Ministers issued a directive concerning duties on commercially imported goods. The new tariffs, which changes the ones that have been in force since 1976, mean, among other things, lower rates. The changes should have a positive impact on imports of the high productivity machinery and equipment needed for the process of regenerating and modernizing factors of production.

The Council of Minister adopted a decision on increasing commodity subsidies for state enterprises and cooperative organizations.

The principle reason for the need to increase subsidies stems from the overstepping of planned wage levels and an increase in costs stemming from higher supply prices and higher transportation rates.

CPSU's Zaykov Interviewed in Warsaw

AU1410152788 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Oct 88 pp 1,5

[Interview with Lev Zaykov, CPSU Politburo member, CPSU Central Committee secretary, and first secretary of the Moscow City CPSU Committee, by Michal Przeczek: "Unlimited Opportunities"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Przeczek] What new developments, processes, and changes are currently shaping life in Moscow and in the capital's party organization?

[Zaykov] Our capital, like the entire country, is currently experiencing interesting and complex times. Moscow's Communists—there are 1,200,000 of them—and the Muscovites as a whole are greatly involved in work on accomplishing the tasks connected with the new stage of revolutionary restructuring and in realizing the enormous impetus provided by the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.

What is taking place is a definite restructuring of attitudes, styles of work, and the system of relations between members of society. The processes connected with a fundamental reform of the political system, a radical renewal of the economy, and the expansion of democracy and openness are assuming momentum.

We are gradually overcoming the difficult situation that we found in the economy, the construction industry, transportation, distribution and trade, health care, learning and culture, and the work of local services. The problems have not been solved yet, but we can clearly see the way in which they can be settled. These problems are being taken into account in the new general plan for the capital, which is currently being prepared, the comprehensive territorial and branch program for the intensification of the national economy of the city "Progress-95" and in the program that is to ensure that every Moscow family will have its own home by the year 2000.

A key issue in the reform of the political system is the separation of the functions of party organs and soviets. A new general model for running Moscow's economy has been formulated, with extensive participation by the city's inhabitants, and approved. This is an important step in the direction of freeing the party from functions that do not belong to it and toward consolidating the complete authority of soviets in the areas that come under them.

This model restores the supremacy of elected bodies over the executive apparatus and creates conditions for a transition to primarily economic methods of management and for transferring many functions connected with administration downward—to the districts, and into the hands of employee collectives. The city and its districts are making active preparations to go over to local economic accountability and self-financing, which are meant to strengthen people's power in material terms.

All industrial enterprises are to change over to new principles of management next year. Employee collectives are becoming the people who really run plants and factories, and they are not just formulating production programs, but are also distributing social development and material incentive funds. The strengthening of discipline is connected with the constant development of democratic principles. We are convinced that placing money-commodity relations in order will improve the health of the economy and that this will raise the Muscovites' standard of living and that of the entire of Soviet people.

Freeing party organs from solving production problems is a path that will lead to strengthening the role of the CPSU as a political vanguard.

[Przeczek] What is your assessment of the current stage of cooperation between industrial enterprises and local services in the two capitals and prospects for its further development?

[Zaykov] The decisive changes that are taking place in both countries' economies, the transition to economic accountability and self-financing, and a fundamental expansion of independence have really created unlimited opportunities for improving cooperation in very many spheres of the national economy.

The treaty on cooperation between party organizations, unions, youth associations, soviets, and employee collectives in our capitals for the years 1987-90 has laid foundations for direct links. In line with it, 40 Moscow

organizations and enterprises have found promising permanent partners in the capital city of fraternal Poland. Today, there already are direct production and scientific and technical ties between 50 pairs of industrial enterprises and institutions. Five Polish-Soviet collectives have been established with a view to solving concrete scientific and technical tasks. It can be assumed that with time they will turn into the first joint enterprises.

Cooperation has already produced the first tangible results in the work of various city services that serve the citizens of Moscow and Warsaw. The construction of the first subway line in the Polish capital, with the help of our specialists, is close to completion. Construction work will be started on well-appointed apartment blocks, and facilities for social and cultural purposes, the plans for which were worked out jointly.

Polish firms and institutions are involved in the reconstruction and restoration of a whole series of buildings in Moscow. Doctors, transportation workers, and teachers are exchanging experiences. Trade between our cities is continuing to develop. For example, there is intensive cooperation between Moscow's "Kalibr" tool factory and Warsaw's "Swierczewski" factory, the "Medobrudowanie" Production-Research Association and the Medical Technology Research and Development Center, the All-Union Agricultural Scientific Research Institute, Building Engineering Scientific Research Institute, and dozens of others. Combining forces makes it possible to save time and considerable financial resources while advancing the borders of scientific and technical progress.

I would like to note that cooperation is not confined to economic cooperation. Ties between party, union, and youth associations at the collective level are constantly expanding, as are vacation exchange programs for children and families.

We also have great plans for the future—plans that cover all areas of life in both cities. I am convinced that the opportunities for cooperation are unlimited.

I think that this will be discussed during our working meetings in Warsaw. I am looking forward to them. I would like to take this opportunity to wish, from the bottom of my heart, the entire Polish nation and the inhabitants of your beautiful capital city happiness, health, and successes in the service of socialist Poland. I invite all of you to attend the "Moscow Days" in Warsaw, the festivities connected with our fraternal friendship.

Gorbachev Invites Farmer To Visit USSR

LD1210232388 Warsaw PAP in English
2148 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Text] Szczecin, Oct. 12: The family of individual farmer Franciszek Bakan of Szczecin region received from the CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev an invitation to visit the USSR.

The invitation came as a result of a visit paid by Gorbachev, during his Polish stay, to the Bakan family whose relatives still live in the Minsk region, Byelorussian Republic. Mrs Bakan has not seen her sister since 1946.

"We are to stay in Minsk and vicinity for some days and then to visit Latvia, a twin republic of Szczechin Voivodship," said Mrs. Bakan. "Mikhail Gorbachev whom we had the honor to host, proved to be an excellent farmer and an open-hearted man. We still talk about his visit. It was also a great joy for us to receive from him autographed photos made during his visit to our house," Mrs. Bakan added.

Baka Receives CPSU Mining Delegation

LD1710213388 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1830 GMT 17 Oct 88

[Text] Wladyslaw Baka, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, received a visiting delegation of the central authorities of the CPSU. All the Soviet guests are employed in the mining sector. Wladyslaw Baka described the transformations occurring in our country. The CPSU representatives came to Poland to acquaint themselves with party work at all levels.

Ceausescu Speaks on DPRK Relations at Ceremony

AU2410145188 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 21 Oct 88 pp 1,3

["Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's Speech" at honorary ceremony to confer doctorates upon him and Elena Ceausescu on 20 October in Pyongyang]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Kim Il-song, comrades and friends: First of all, on behalf of my wife and on my own behalf, I would like to express heartfelt thanks for the high distinctions—the title of "Doctor Honoris Causa" in economic sciences you awarded me, and the title of "Doctor Honoris Causa" in chemical sciences you awarded my wife—for this warm and friendly event, and for the words of appreciation you expressed here in connection with our activity, with Romanian science and culture, and with the achievements of Socialist Romania. (loud, prolonged applause).

We see all these things not only as an appreciation of our activity, but primarily as great appreciation of Romanian science and education, of socialist development in Romania, of the favorable relations between our parties and countries and between Romanian and Korean scientists and men of culture, and as an expression of the desire to further develop our cooperation in all fields of activity.

I take this opportunity to convey warm greetings and best wishes to you— the scientists, men of culture, researchers, university teaching staff, and all students, and to all of the friendly Korean people, on behalf of Romanian scientists, educational cadres, men of culture, students, all Romanian people, and on our own behalf. (loud applause)

We are here in the DPRK on an official friendly visit, at the invitation of our old and close friend Comrade Kim Il-song. (loud applause)

We have discussed aspects of the current stage of our bilateral relations and ways and means to ensure the further development of Romanian-Korean cooperation, friendship, and revolutionary solidarity. The ties between our countries have old and rich traditions. These ties began and have developed in the years of the Korean people's heroic struggle against imperialist aggression and for the defense of their freedoms and independence.

One can confidently state that Romanian-Korean relations set an example of relations between independent and sovereign socialist countries which cooperate and assist each other in a comradely and revolutionary spirit, for the victory of the socialist construction in their countries, for the progress and material and cultural well-being of their peoples, and for peace and cooperation throughout the world. (loud applause)

We highly value the historical achievements of the Korean people over the last 4 decades since the founding of the DPRK under the leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea, headed by Comrade Kim Il-song, the prominent leader of the Korean party and state. (loud applause)

During our visit, we saw first hand a part of these achievements. We were particularly impressed by the achievements of the machine-tool makers, by the scale of the apartments and the sports and cultural facilities, and the new districts which have turned Pyongyang into a modern city, offering increasingly better working and living conditions for its residents.

We know that the achievements in the field of science, technology, education, culture, and cadre training hold an honorable place in these achievements. Yesterday we visited an exhibition of the machine building industry and noted the high technological level of these products and their modern aspects, developed on the basis of the latest scientific and technological discoveries, which play a decisive role in developing socialist society.

As your friends, we sincerely rejoice in each of the great successes of the Korean people and wish them new achievements in their socioeconomic development, in improving their material and cultural well-being, and in strengthening their independence! (loud applause)

The achievements obtained by Romania and Korea—as well as by the other socialist countries—in their economic development and in building the new system contribute to strengthening the forces of socialism and increasing its prestige and influence in the world.

We can confidently state that the achievements registered by the SR of Romania and the DPRK are telling proof of the force of socialism and the strength of peoples who have eliminated oppression forever, and who are freely building their socialist and communist future. (loud and prolonged applause).

Esteemed comrades, in the more than 40 years of socialist construction—particularly in the period that followed the Ninth RCP Congress, which opened up a stage of profound revolutionary change in all areas and promoted a new and thoroughly revolutionary spirit of decisive struggle against dogmatism, set patterns, and against everything that was outdated and no longer suited the new state of development state, a period which boldly promoted a new way of thinking in all areas—the Romanian people, too, have obtained historic achievements on the path of building socialism in Romania. (loud applause).

We have always borne in mind the fact that socialism can be built under different conditions and in different stages in different countries, and we have firmly applied the general laws and principles of scientific socialism to the concrete conditions and realities prevailing in Romania.

Proceeding from the level we have attained in developing production forces, at the 13th RCP Congress we set the essential strategic objectives for the following period—to achieve the intensive development of the national economy based on the broad utilization of the most advanced discoveries of the modern scientific-technological revolution, to give new quality to the work

and life of our whole nation, and to ensure Romania's progress toward a new and superior stage of development—that of a medium level developed country.

In accordance with the party program, we anticipate that we will ensure Romania's progress up to the year 2000, and see to it that Romania becomes a comprehensively developed socialist country, and we will create conditions to ensure its gradual progress toward the golden dream of mankind—toward communism! (loud, prolonged applause).

As a matter of fact, in all our work to build socialism, we proceeded and continue to proceed from the fact that a better and more just society, in which people are truly free and can completely benefit from the discoveries of modern civilization, can be achieved only on the basis of the latest discoveries of modern science and technology, and on the basis of revolutionary thinking in general. In this respect, we pay great attention to developing science, education, and culture, as essential factors for successfully building the new system.

We give priority to the development of research in the field of technical sciences and to the proper application of its results in production, and we pay great attention to basic as well as long-term research.

Likewise, we pay great attention to the economic and social sciences and to issues connected with the organization and scientific management of production, to the application of the new financial-economic mechanism, to increasing economic efficiency and profitability, to strengthening socialist ownership, and to the firm application of economic and financial self-management and self-administration.

Proceeding from the fundamental principle of building socialism with the people and for the people, we have developed a broad democratic framework, and we work to ensure the appropriate operation of all the workers' democratic revolutionary organizations.

We pay particular attention to continuously improving the material and cultural standard of living of our whole nation—the supreme goal of the policy promoted by our party, and the essence of the comprehensively developed socialist society which we are successfully building in Romania.

We are constantly concerned with broadly promoting the principles of socialist ethics and equity in all socioeconomic areas, and with firmly applying the principles of socialist remuneration, so that nobody in our society can live without work or through exploiting other people's work.

In general, we place great emphasis on studying and acquiring the knowledge of the objective laws and the fundamental principles of socialism, on the understanding of contradictions in the socialist society, on finding ways to solve them, on the struggle against everything that is outdated, and on firmly promoting new things in our whole socioeconomic life.

We can confidently state that socialism has thoroughly demonstrated its superiority, by eliminating exploitation and capitalist oppression for good, and by achieving new social relations based on full equality; we can state that the new system, in which the people have become masters of their own destinies, ensures the free and independent socioeconomic development of each people. (loud, prolonged applause).

On the basis of our practice and experience, we can state that the future belongs only to socialism and free and independent people! (loud, prolonged applause).

We should never forget that the laws and principles of scientific socialism and the objective laws of socioeconomic development should not only be applied differently from one country to another, in accordance with the concrete conditions prevailing in each country, but that these laws are basically different from the laws that prevailed in the old, capitalist system, which were based on inequality, oppression, and the exploitation of man by man.

Proceeding from the fact that the revolutionary process is not over and is continuing under the new conditions, we should maintain and develop a revolutionary spirit in our whole activity, and a revolutionary awareness in our life and struggle to ensure the complete triumph of the new system; thus, we should always act as true revolutionaries. (loud applause)

In this respect, the RCP carries out intensive political-instructional activity in social and revolutionary education. (loud applause) We steadily work to constantly develop the political, scientific, technical, and cultural knowledge of the working people, because we believe that this is an objective requirement that is of the greatest importance for our country's progress on the path of socialism and for the successful building of the new system.

While ensuring the steady progress of all socioeconomic sectors, Romania diversifies cooperation and collaboration with the socialist countries and with all other countries, and actively participates in the international division of labor and in the world exchange of material and cultural assets.

We firmly base our relations with all countries on the principles of full equality of rights, respect for independence and national sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs, and mutual benefit.

I would like to mention with great satisfaction the fact that, during our talks with Comrade Kim Il-song, an outstanding personality of the international communist and workers movement, we decided to further develop Romanian-Korean cooperation and collaboration in all fields of activity, for the benefit of both nations, and in the interest of the socialist construction in our countries and the cause of socialism and peace. (loud applause)

Within this framework, we wish to establish contacts and develop increasingly close ties and more active cooperation between scientists and educational cadres in our countries, and between the research institutes and universities in Romania and in the DPRK. (loud applause) In this respect, I extend an invitation to a delegation of DPRK scientists and educational cadres to visit Romania. (loud applause).

Esteemed comrades, the current international situation continues to be very complex and contradictory. Some steps toward disarmament and finding a peaceful solution to some problems have been taken; nevertheless, a radical turning point toward a new policy of detente, cooperation, and peace has not been achieved. One can state that we are only at the beginning of a long road—which should be consolidated through the joint struggle of peoples—that the process of detente and peace has not become irreversible, and that the danger of a new world war still persists.

Under these circumstances, a new way of thinking, a new approach to the problems of peace and war, and a new world political order are required. These should emerge from the necessity to do everything we can in order to completely eliminate the danger of a new world war—which would inevitably turn into a destructive nuclear war—to defend the supreme right of the people and of nations to peace, life, and a free and dignified existence.

In this spirit, Romania firmly militates for nuclear and classical disarmament, for security and cooperation in Europe and the world, for the renunciation of a policy of force and the threat of force and a policy of interference in domestic affairs of other countries, and for the seeking of solutions to interstate conflicts solely through peaceful means, through negotiations.

We consistently speak out for the elimination of underdevelopment and the establishment of a new world economic order, based on full equality and equity among countries. We militate most resolutely for the respect of each nation's right to choose its path of development independently, as it desires, without any outside interference. (loud applause).

On this occasion, we would also like to reiterate Romania's resolute solidarity with and support for the just struggle of the friendly Korean people for the peaceful and independent reunification of their homeland, without any outside interference! (loud applause) We actively support the proposals and initiatives of Comrade Kim Il-song to reduce tension in the Korean peninsula and to start a new dialogue between the two parts of Korea, a dialogue which would open up the path toward the reunification of the country, and free and independent development of the Korean nation. (loud applause) Dear comrades, we wish you the achievement of these legitimate aspirations as soon as possible—to live in a united, independent, and sovereign homeland! (loud, prolonged applause)

During the talks we held with Comrade Kim Il-song, we noted with great satisfaction the identical or very close views of our parties and countries on international issues, and we decided to intensify our cooperation in the international arena, to promote a policy of peace and cooperation, of noninterference in domestic affairs, and respect for the independence and sovereignty of each nation.

Starting from the fact that scientists and men of culture are playing an increasingly important role in the struggle for social progress and peace in the world, the scientists, educational cadres, and men of culture in Romania and the DPRK should continuously strengthen their cooperation, and should participate more actively in the promotion of a policy of peace and cooperation between our countries and parties.

The RCP and Socialist Romania will continue to do everything possible to further strengthen Romanian-Korean friendship and revolutionary solidarity—both bilaterally and in the international arena—and see to it that our people progress together, in close cooperation, on the road of building the most just and humane society: socialism and communism. (loud applause)

In conclusion, I would like once again to express our thanks for the high titles conferred upon us and to assure you that we will continue to work to develop more markedly the overall cooperation between our countries and parties, which, although separated by a great distance, are fighting on the same front, on the front of socialism, peace, and independence. (loud, prolonged applause)

I extend to you and to the whole friendly Korean people wishes for new successes in your comprehensive activity to build socialism and in the struggle you wage for peace and international cooperation, and for the peaceful reunification of your homeland! (loud, prolonged applause)

I wish the friendly Korean people and the Workers' Party of Korea, under the leadership of their illustrious leader, the experienced revolutionary, Comrade Kim Il-song, ever greater successes on the path of socialism and communism. (loud and prolonged applause)

May cooperation between the RCP and the Workers' Party of Korea, between the SR of Romania and the DPRK, and between the Romanian and the Korean peoples continue to strengthen! (prolonged applause)

May peace and international cooperation triumph! (loud, prolonged applause)

Joint Economic Commissions Conclude

Chilean Cooperation Analyzed

AU2110183788 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1645 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 21/10/1988—The fifth session of the Romanian-Chilean Joint Economic Commission took place in Bucharest, over October 20-21. It

analyzed aspects of the economic collaboration between the two countries, the possibilities to further develop the bilateral cooperation in mining, machine-building, power engineering, chemistry, transport, agriculture and other sectors of mutual interest. It also endorsed new measures to increase and diversify the bilateral goods exchanges.

At the close of the proceedings, the chairmen of the commission for the two countries, Nicolae Andrei, deputy minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, and Ramon Valdes Rosas, undersecretary, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Chile, signed the session's protocol.

While in Romania, the head of the Chilean delegation was received by Ioan Ungur, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, Radu Paunescu, minister of machine-building, as well as by executives of the Foreign Ministry.

Swedish Trade Commission Meets

AU2110183388 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1650 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 21/10/1988—The 17th session of the Romanian-Swedish Government Commission on Economic, Industrial, Technological and Scientific Co-operation and of the Joint Romanian-Swedish Commission on Trade took place in Bucharest, over October 20-21.

The current stage of the economic relations between Romania and Sweden was analyzed on the occasion and the mutual wish was expressed to further develop these relations in domains of mutual interest.

At the close of the proceedings, the chairmen of the commissions for the two countries signed the sessions' protocols, that stipulate new measures and actions for the amplification of the economic, industrial and technological cooperation between Romanian and Swedish firms, both on a bilateral plane and in third markets, the growth and diversification of the bilateral goods exchanges.

Milea, Coman Attend Meeting on Army Day

AU2410194188 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1845 GMT 24 Oct 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 24/10/1988—A festive meeting was organized in Bucharest on October 24 by the Ministry of National Defence and the Bucharest Municipality Committee of the RCP to mark the Army Day.

The meeting was attended by Ion Coman, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, Colonel-General Vasile Milea, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, minister of national defence, members of the management boards of the Ministry of National Defence and of local party bodies and executives of central institutions and of public organizations, antifascist war veterans, generals, officers, military foremen and noncoms, working people in Bucharest enterprises, members of the patriotic guards and of the detachments for the youth's training for the homeland's defence.

Also present were military attaches accredited to Romania.

Speaking about the significance of the event was Major-General Stefan Gusa, first deputy minister of national defence and chief of the general staff, highlighting the importance of October 25, the speaker outlined the Romanian Army's contribution the victorious antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution of social and national liberation of August 1944, its participation in the heavy battles waged, alongside the Soviet Army, for the liberation of the entire territory of Romania and for the liberation of Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Austria, until the complete defeat of Nazi Germany.

Emphasis was placed on the fact that the Army of Socialist Romania, enjoying the permanent care shown by the RCP, the Romanian State and President Nicolae Ceausescu, is apt to defend, together with the other elements of the national defence system and the entire people, the country's revolutionary gains, its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Addresses of salute were delivered by Ilie Virgil, secretary of the party committee of the heavy machinery enterprise of Bucharest, Mihai Laurentiu, secretary of the UCY [Union of Communist Youth] Committee of the "23 August" enterprise, and retired Major-General Andrei Miclescu, antihitlerite war veteran.

The participants in the meeting sent a telegram to Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the RCP, president of Romania, supreme commander of the Armed Forces.

Events were held in various countries on the same occasion when stress was laid on the Romanian soldiers' fight in the Second World War on the Romanian Army's contribution to defeating fascism, to liberating the territory of Romania and of other countries in Europe. An exhibition of documentary photographs opened in Moscow, festive meetings were held at the Academy of Military Sciences of the Chinese People's Liberation Army in Beijing and in two garrisons of the People's Army of the Hungarian People's Republic, and a meeting between the Romanian military attache and cadres and military of a large unit of the People's Navy of the German Democratic Republic was arranged in Berlin. Furthermore, floral wreaths were laid at Romanian heroes' memorials who died in the fight for the liberation of Czechoslovakia and, respectively, Hungary from fascist domination in Prague and in various localities in the Hungarian People's Republic.

Serbia Views No Confidence Vote in Ckrebic

LD2410204188 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1924 GMT 24 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 24 (TANJUG)—Serbia today officially reacted for the first time to last week's secret vote taken at a session of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee, which passed a vote of no- confidence in Dusan Ckrebic, Serbia's representative in the LCY Presidency.

The significance of the vote is not only personal, but it has a profound political meaning as well, it was assessed at today's session of a section or inter-nationality relations of the republican conference of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Serbia.

Participants in the meeting said that the LCY Central Committee should make a "comprehensive, uncompromising, unprejudiced and open" assessment of the essence of the outcome of the secret vote taken at the 17th LCY Central Committee session.

The LCY Central Committee passed a vote of confidence in all members of the party Presidency, except Ckrebic, who immediately offered to resign.

Presidency President of the League of Communists of Serbia Central Committee Slobodan Milosevic reacted to this by saying that the LCY Central Committee should discuss Ckrebic's resignation only after his base—the League of Communists of Serbia—but also the LCY Central Committee has stated their opinion of Ckrebic's work.

Speaking after Milosevic, representative of the Republic of Macedonia in the LCY Central Committee Presidency Dr Vasil Tupurkovski said that at the plenum "one republic lost and an unprincipled coalition won" instead of unity.

LCY Presidency President Stipe Suvar distanced himself from that assessment and spoke about Ckrebic's work favourably at a press conference with foreign reporters. He also said that, in casting their votes, many members of the LCY Central Committee probably identified Ckrebic with nationalistic incidents in Serbia, an allusion to unacceptable slogans at rallies in that republic that have grown increasingly frequent.

The LCY Central Committee has so far made no comprehensive analysis of the Central Committee vote but it can increasingly be heard in the public that it was actually a vote on the policy of the party leadership of Serbia, which has "shaken" the country with some of its moves, primarily with the endorsment of mass protest rallies. (The complete leadership of the Province of Vojvodina was forced to step down in the face of mass demonstrations, while police were used to disperse demonstrators calling for the resignation of republican officials in the Republic of Montenegro.

It is now clear that the League of Communists of Serbia will not resign itself to this outcome and that it will insist on the respect for its assessment of Ckrebic's work, which will doubtless be favorable. Ckrebic is a supporter of Milosevic's policies.

It is still also possible that the LCY Central Committee in this situation will refuse to accept Ckrebic's resignation if he offers it again.

Serbian SAWP Committee Discusses Kosovo

LD2410225388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1435 GMT 24 Oct 88

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 24 Oct (TANJUG)—It is essential for LC action unity that the LCY Central Commitee make a thorough and complete assessment—without compromises, prejudice, or the passing over of things in silence—of the essence of the outcome of the secret voting at the 17th LCY Central Committee session. In the process the orientation of the membership of the Serbian LC about the policy of the Serbian LC and its exponents must be borne in mind, Miroslav Markovic concluded at today's session of the coordinating committee of the Serbian SAWP Republican Conference for intranational relations. The session supported the document on the immedite tasks of the LCY arising from the 17th session. [passage omitted]

At the 17th LCY CC session, too, Markovic recalled, as well as at the session of the SAWPY Federal Conference, it was stated that the greatest responsibility for the situation in Kosovo is borne by the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee and by the province's political leadership. Observing that no comment needs to be made about this stance, Markovic added that the comrades in Kosovo should be helped so that they may establish this responsibility in a complete, documented, and rapid manner. After all, leaderships which are unable to politically involve the broadest masses do not have the right to lead working people and citizens. And, according to Markovic, there will be no major changes until the working people and citizens of Albanian nationality are mobilized politically. [passage omitted]

Serbian Commission Meets on Constitutional Issues

LD1010150988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1254 GMT 10 Oct 88

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 9 Oct (TANJUG)—The basis for the further course of the public discussion on constitutional changes in the Socialist Republic of Serbia should be the draft amendments to the republican Constitution, in the version established by the republican assembly. Full agreement was reached on this by all members of the Commission for Constitutional Issues of the Serbian Assembly which today held an extraordinary session. The session was also attended by Presidents of the Assemblies of Vojvodina and Kosovo, Zivan Marelj and Vukasin Jokanovic. The reason for the session was the

current political situation in the country and the course of the public discussion on changes to the republic's Constitution. [passage omitted]

The public discussion should be oriented towards a constructive search for the best possible solutions, while respecting the fact that there are and will continue to be differing proposals and opinions, so that the basic aim of the constitutional changes can be achieved and in this way a contribution can be made to the removal of the deformities which have arisen and the expense of unity and togetherness in the republic. The session stressed that this will ensure that Serbia as a state and as a self-managing community carries out the vital functions throughout its territory with the consistent realization of the essential autonomy of the provinces.

The session of the Serbian Assembly Commission for Constitional Issues also concluded that after the public discussion had been carried out, joint work should continue on preparing draft amendements on the basis of the draft document and the results of the public discussion.

Concern Over Kosovo Constitution Debate

LD2410213488 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2017 GMT 24 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 24 (TANJUG)—The committee monitoring the public debate on constitutional changes in the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia warned today that the debate has entered a dangerous phase of "dramatic nationalist divisions."

Due to migration under pressure from Albanian separatists in the past decades, the ethnic composition of Kosovo, a province within the Republic of Serbia, has changed dramatically to the advantage of the Albanian nationality.

The coordinating committee, which is part of the Socialist Alliance, Yugoslavia's largest political organization, has noted with indignation that the debate in Kosovo on constitutional amendments, which aim to normalize the situation, is moving on a course of confrontation with the stands of Yugoslavia's party leadership.

The committee underscored the conclusions of the recent 17th plenum of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee, which upheld Serbia's demands for resolving the situation in the province.

Despite clear support expressed in the final stage of constitutional changes for Serbia to establish statehood on its entire territory, members of the Albanian nationality now speak against any changes, the committee warns.

The new confrontation of stands of the republican leadership in Serbia and the provincial leadership in Kosovo coincided with a warning made at today's session of the section for inter-nationality relations of the republican conference of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Serbia that "comrades in Kosovo should be helped in determining responsibility for the bad situation in the province."

More than 30,000 Serbs and Montenegrins have migrated from Kosovo since the outbreak of the counterrevolution there in 1981.

The Serbian party leadership is of the opinion that the isolation of Kosovo from Serbia's judicial and economic systems, a state of affairs brought on by the imprecise provisions of the 1974 Constitution, has caused the rule of autocracy in Kosovo, a strengthening of the forces of separatism and a rapid growth in genocide as an anachronism in European circumstances.

The constitutional changes on which Serbia's state and party leaderships are insisting should deprive separatism of its room for manoeuvre through the introduction of a single legal system in the republic and the return of the questions of internal security, defence, the law and economic planning under the jurisdiction of the republic.

Slovene LC Endorses Results of LCY Sessions

LD2410202488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1859 GMT 24 Oct 88

[Text] Ljubljana, 24 Oct (TANJUG)—At today's session, the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium considered the tasks of the Slovene LC following the 17th and 18th sessions of the LCY Central Committee. The results of these sessions, it says in the communique, represent the continuation of LCY policy accepted at the 13th LCY Congress and at the LCY conference. The result of the recent sessions is a victory for common sense and responsibility for the program, which opens up visions and prospects to our society in order to find a way out of the crisis. The sessions showed consciousness of the necessity of strengthening the authority of the institutions of the system, the further renewal of the LC, and the concretization of the institution of the responsibility of organs and individuals.

After the 17th and 18th sessions of the LCY Central Committee, there should also be a serious facing up to the problems that are provoking the dissatisfaction of the people, and it is therefore vital that all three reforms are made concrete and that the tasks accepted at the two sessions are realized, the communique from today's session of the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium stresses.

Slovene SAWP Discusses SFRY Constitution

LD1010185288 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 10 Oct 88

[Text] A session was held in Ljubljana today of the Presidium of the Slovene SAWP Republican Conference which met to discuss the proposed amendments to the SFRY Constitution and a report on the work so far on

preparing the proposed amendments. Discussion conducted as a part of the Any Other Business [AOB] item on the agenda was also very interesting. It consisted of an analysis of the attacks by Belgrade press on the Slovene leadership and its policy. More on this from Dragoslav Kosevic:

[Kosevic] The political situation in which the country's supreme law, that is, the SFRY Constitution is being changed provided the debate with a great amount of vociferousness. The republic's well-publicized standpoints on the amendments to the constitutional changes were reiterated once again. Geza Bacic stressed that the amendments had to be accepted with the full agreement of all the republics and the provinces and that the seven controversial amendments should be excluded from the packet to be put to vote if no agreement has been reached on them. Geza Bacic was of the view that we have recently been faced with attempts to use criticism and labelling at meetings and in the street to force a decision on constitutional changes to be made. This is an unacceptable form of pressure. Claims about Slovene egotism and about the republic's aspirations to impose its views and standpoints om others were rejected resolutely.

Discussion conducted within the framework of the AOB—and this item on the agenda has become increasingly important at recent meetings of sociopolitical organizations—concentrated on the issue of how and in what way to oppose lies and untruths about the Slovene leadership and its policy which have recently been appearing in, above all, Belgrade press. The latest of the untruths appeared in today's issue of POLITIKA and referred to the allegedly secret meeting which took place between the Slovene, Croat and the then Vojvodina leaderships as some kind of conspiracy aimed finding the way of how and in what way to maintain one's offices. A strong demand was made for POLITIKA to deny all this and apologise in its issue tomorrow for this flagrant insinuation. The possibility is also being considered of bringing civil charges against authors of any future similar articles.

In the framework of this part of the debate it was asked if Belgrade had the capacity to provide all necessary conditions to ensure that, during the harmonization of the constitutional amendments, delegates were not put under any pressures.

No Constitution Referendum Needed in Slovenia

LD2410163488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1313 GMT 24 Oct 88

[Text] Ljubljana, 24 oct (TANJUG)—The Commission for Constitutional Issues of the Slovene SR Assembly decided today to propose to the republican Assembly delegates that a referendum on the constitutional changes not be held.

At the session it was stressed that the first proposals for the holding of a referendum on the proposed amendments to the SFRY Constitution were made in the period when people in Slovenia considered that the draft working text of the changes to the Federal Constitution did not include to a sufficient extent proposals which would present a basis for vital changes in the socioeconomic and political system. A referendum was also being proposed, because it was assessed that the procedure for coordinating the Constitution would not be conducted in a way which would ensure that stances from the public discussion would be taken into account to a sufficient extent.

However, as was concluded today, the coordination of the text of the proposed amendments to the SFRY Constitution represents a success for the Federal Assembly and for its delegates, and the final act [of coordinating the text] in the SFRY Assembly showed the delegates' great maturity and responsibility, as well as the Federal Chamber's ability to consider the interests of all Yugoslavia.

Slovene Assembly Rejects YPA Financing Proposal

LD1810054488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1839 GMT 17 Oct 88

[Text] Ljubljana, 17 Oct (TANJUG)—The most recent proposal by the SFRY Constitutional Commission regarding the financing of the YPA [Yugoslav People's Army] is unacceptable, despite the fact that a newly supplemented amendment is a significant step toward the stands of the Assembly of Slovenia. The key question of changing the character of the federation, however, remains unresolved as does the issue of the nonbudgetary position of the YPA. This assesment was put foward at today's session of the Constitional Commission of the Assembly of Slovenia. The commission also supported the statement of the SFRY Presidency that "within the framework of common budget of the federation it is necessary to ensure the long-term stability and security of the financing of the YPA."

If this proposal is not acceptable, the commission said, then a special turnover tax—but in no case an income tax on the basic organization of associated labor—might be introduced as an emergency and temporary measure for 1 year only.

Kosovo Presidency Members, Others Resign

LD2510104888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1025 GMT 25 Oct 88

[Text] Pristina, 25 Oct (TANJUG)—Delegates of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo today relieved of their duties two members of the Kosovo Presidency: Abdulah Hodza and Danilo Vasic. This was done at their personal request because of health reasons and the need for cadre renewal, as they stated. Today Omer Pljakic was relieved of his duties as

president of the provincial Committee for Urban Planning, Housing, and Communal Affairs, and Caslav Bojanic was elected in his place. At a joint session the delegates relieved Milosav Milojevic at his personal request from his duties as chairman of the Administrative Commission of the Kosovo Assembly.

Proposed Presidency Candidates

LD2410211688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1619 GMT 24 Oct 88

[Text] Pristina, 24 Oct (TANJUG)—The provincial candidates' conference of the Kosovo SAWP today proposed as candidates for one place in the membership of the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province (SAP) of Kosovo, Zoran Djokic, a professor at the economics faculty and secretary of the provincial self-managing community of interest for education, science, and culture; and Dobrosav Radovic, who is currently in the post of chairman of the Leposavic LC Municipal Committee.

The acceptance of these proposals was preceded by a hitherto unusual and, for such an occasion, nervous and polemical debate about the candidature of Zoran Djokic.

The polemic first of all provoked opposition from Aleksandar Vasic to the candidature of Djokic because of criticisms of him by name that have been voiced in public.

Nazmi Recica reacted to this observation most vehemently. He dissociated himself from Vasic's line of argument and said that Djokic had been singled out for cricitism because he is at the head of the provincial self-managing community of interest for education, which is operating in difficult material conditions and that it is irresponsible that there is opposition to the proposal that a doctor of science be elected as a member of the Presidency.

Boro Drmoncic, the president of the Kosovo SUBNOR [Federation of Veterans' Associations of Yugoslavia], supporting both proposals, said that he too has heard that Zoran Djokic has also been singled out for criticism both at the faculty and in the press and that they are also criticizing him by name and counting him among the Serbian Kosovo cadres who have a dishonorable role, but that it is not clear to him what kind of role this is.

Almost all members of the conference of Albanian nationality who had discussions today, supporting both proposals, defended Zoran Djokic and stressed his capabilities.

Kosovo LC Assesses LCY Tasks, Own Duties

LD2410223688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1545 GMT 24 Oct 88

[Text] Pristina, 24 Oct (TANJUG)—At its session today the Presidium of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee specified its own duties in implementing the immediate tasks and activities as set at the 17th LCY Central Committee session. Taking the measure of warning meted out by the LCY Central Committee on the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee and its Presidium, the Presidium of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee has embarked on a debate to reexamine the issue of collective and individual responsibility.

In line with the conclusions of the ninth session of the LCY Central Committee, the contributions by each individual member of the Presidium, and with the existing criteria, cadre renewal in the Provincial Committee of the Kosovo LC will be carried out in the shortest possible time. On the basis of unanimously adopted tasks at the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee the need was stressed for the unity of the LCY, the Serbian LC, and the Kosovo LC in action primarily to halt negative tendencies in the socioeconomic and political life in Kosovo.

This refers in particular to the sphere of intranational relations, to the need for a consistent struggle against Albanian nationalism and separatism, as well as against other forms of nationalism and antiself-management forces aimed at ending the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins and providing conditions for a consistent implementation of the Yugoslav program for halting the emigration and for enabling the return of those who have already left but want to come back and live in Kosovo.

The formation of a broad-based front of Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, and members of other nations and nationalities living in Kosovo with the LCY platform as a basis, would serve to more quickly overcome divisions on a national basis and eliminate mistrust among people and to hamper negative tendencies in intranational relations.

Concerted efforts by activists from the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, the Serbian LC Central Committee, and the LCY Central Committee on the basis of common ideopolitical departure points within the grassroots and in areas where problems arise and where they should be resolved, will make it possible for the situation to normalize, the Presidium of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee stressed.

Colakovic Urges Resolution of Kosovo Problems

LD2410205988 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1956 GMT 24 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, October 24 (TANJUG)—Bozidar Colakovic, president of the leadership of Yugoslavia's largest socio-political organization, the Socialist Alliance, announced today that the Yugoslav party Presidency and the party leaderships of the Republic of Serbia and its Province of Kosovo might meet this week to resolve the question of responsibility of the Kosovo leaders for the situation in the province, where Albanian chauvinists terrorize Serbs and Montenegrins.

Speaking to a 19-member delegation of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, Colakovic, in a manner unusual for Yugoslav political practice - threatening to resign - warned the country's party leadership to finally resolve the question of the responsibility for the situation in Kosovo. Assuring the delegation that Yugoslavia is strong enough to resolve this question, Colakoic added that, in case this does not happen, they will be "talking to other people" in the federal conference of the Socialist Alliance. The federal conference will "make some moves", Colakovic underscored.

In a recent interview Colakovic urged extraordinary elections in case the economic and political crisis in the country is not solved.

The delegation of Serbs and Montenegrins of Kosovo, called the "Committee for Self-Defence and Survival of Serbs and Montenegrins of Kosovo" (formed at the protest rally in Kosovo Polje on Thursday) threatened that Serbs and Montenegrins would move out of Kosovo en masse. This is not simply a threat but a state of awareness about the impossibility of living there any longer unless urgent measures are taken to secure safety and trouble-free life to everyone in the province, a committee member said.

Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo also announced that they would begin a strike on Wednesday, which is the deadline that the participants in last week's rally in Kosovo Polje set to the Kosovo party Presidency to resign.

Colakovic, who is a representative of Kosovo in the federal conference of the Socialist Alliance, appealed to Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins to wait a few more days for the results of the joint session of the three party leaderships.

Appeal To Return To Classes in Pristina

LD2410181188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1608 GMT 24 Oct 88

[Excerpt] Pristina, 24 oct (TANJUG)—The Provincial Committee for Education, Science, and Culture of Kosovo today appealed to Serbo-Croat speaking high school students, lecturers, and Pristina University students to return to their classes. The same appeal was made yesterday by the provincial Executive Council, and it was therefore expected that the 2-month boycott of classes would be ended. However the provincial committee did not have at its disposal any firm facts that the classes had begun. [passage omitted]

Albanian Nationalist Pamphlets in Pristina

AU1110140688 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Oct 88 p 11

[Z.Z. report: "Nationalist Leaflets in Pristina Streets Again"]

[Text] Pristina 5 Oct—Hostile Albanian nationalist and separatist pamphlets were again discovered early this morning in several districts of Pristina, such as Suncani Breg, Aktas, Dardanija, and Kicma.

The leaflets of the Albanian nationalists and separatists were affixed to the entrance doors of buildings or were thrown into the lobbies of apartment blocks. As before, the Albanian nationalists and separatists once again called for weapons and an uprising, and mentioned some supposed historical rights of the Albanian nationality.

Albanian Separatists in Struga 'Still Dreaming'

LD0510133488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0118 GMT 5 Oct 88

[By Vele Mitanoski]

[Text] Struga, 5 Oct (TANJUG)—Due to the permanent activity of the LC and the front of organized socialist forces, the scope for activity by greater Albanian nationalists and separatists in the multinational municipality of Struga has been considerably narrowed. However, despite everything, their continued activity has still not been halted. The enemy has retreated behind the scenes and has deepened its increasingly perfidious methods of activity, waiting, it seems, for the chance to come out onto the stage once again.

At least, this is what is indicated by the ultimatums of the so-called "Committee for the Protestion of the Rights of the Albanian Nationality in the Municipality of Struga," which were recently sent to the Struga LC Municipal Committee. The demands were written in Serbo-Croatian, indicating that the authors wished either to cover their traces or that, once again, as in the Kumanovo case, the "Kosovo connection" was at work.

Several elements indicate that it is in fact a case of the latter possibility, since the same threats of broad protests are made, with the participation of "the disenfranchised Albanians outside Struga." On the other hand, all this fits into the scenario of creating ethnically pure environments as a first step toward achieving the strategic goal of a Greater Albania. It is clear that the Greater Albanian separatists are still dreaming their sweet dreams.

Several other facts also indicate that this is a question of the "Kosovo connection." The presence of "emissaries" from Kosovo is increasingly common despite the well-developed education network in Struga, in which 5,000 pupils receive their education in Albanian, and 500 pupils and students have continued their education in Kosovo.

In the last few years in Struga, 30 teachers have been dismissed from teaching. Because of activity from positions of Albanian nationalism and separatism, ideo-political measures have been pronounced against 71 members, of whom 23 are from the sphere of education. Some of these found refuge in Kosovo, and individuals among them will in all probability "educate" pupils from Struga.

Education is certainly the basic area of activity for Albanian separatists, but it is not the only one. All methods are used.

Islamicized Macedonians continue to be "a target." There is almost no consideration of how many marks or dollars Macedonian houses and property cost, religious instruction is abused, and lately Macedonian place-names throughout the Struga region have been a focus for such activity, as well as certain religious facilities. Some settlements have already become ethnically pure, and when all this is taken into account there are no essential differences between the dreams of Greater Albanian separatists from Kosovo, western Macedonia, or part of southern Serbia.

Macedonian LC Presidium Discusses Tasks

LD2410202188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1717 GMT 24 Oct 88

[Excerpt] Skopje, 24 Oct (TANJUG)—Today's Macedonian LC Central Committee Presidium session, presided over by Jakov Lazaroski, discussed the implementation of the obligations of the Macedonian LC stemming from the document "The immediate tasks and activities of the LCY in overcoming the unfavorable political, economic, and social situation in the country," approved at the 17th LCY Central Committee session.

It was stressed in the debate that "immediate tasks" unanimously approved at the 17th LCY Central Committee session have great importance for the political stability of the country, the resolute implementation of the economic and political system reform, and the democratic transformation of the LC. It was assessed that the great contribution at this session, expressing through the consciousness of the ideopolitical unity of the LCY—above all in its leadership—is a condition for LC unity of action in the implementation of the tasks of the 13th LCY Congress and the first LCY conference. [passage omitted]

Macedonian Muslims Discuss 'Albanianization'

LD2410180188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1511 GMT 24 Oct 88

[Text] Tetovo, 24 Oct (TANJUG)—A seminar organized by the Presidium of the republican community for cultural and scientific events of Macedonian Muslims was held in Tetovo today, entitled: "The role of the public information media in the process of the national rebirth of Macedonian Muslims."

The successes achieved in the national rebirth of the Macedonian Muslims were outlined, but it was noted that certain journalists and editorial boards are avoiding telling the truth about Macedonian Muslims.

It was stressed in the discussion that individuals employed in schools, as well as in various posts in the municipalities of Tetovo, Kicevo, Debar, Gostivar and elsewhere, are spreading Albanian nationalism, by, among other things, changing the surnames and names of new-born children and newly enrolled pupils. The Albanianization and assimilation of Macedonian Muslims is also being carried out in other ways.

Macedonian Students Suspended for Demonstrating

LD1810125488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1108 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] Gostivar, 18 Oct (TANJUG)—The educational council of Panco Popovski High School has suspended 23 students for taking part in the 4 October demonstrations, which were organized by a group of students of Albanian nationality from three Gostivar high schools. Eighteen students were given a warning for taking part in the demonstrations.

The educational council of the Zlata Malakovski Center for Vocational Education has suspended three students for taking part in the demonstrations and in Cede Filipovski High School one student was suspended.

Further on Vote of Confidence at LCY Presidium

AU2410205888 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Oct 88 p 4

[Unattributed report on the response by the LCY Central Committee Presidium members to the result of the Central Committee's vote of confidence at the 17th LCY session in Belgrade on 19 October: "Ckrebic Without Sufficient Votes"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted]

Vasil Tupurkovski: Victory for Unprincipled Coalition [subhead]

I am not addressing you as a member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, because a member of the Presidium should be sober-minded, principled, very serious, intelligent, and so forth. The extenuating circumstance behind what I intend to say is my disappointment over the possible development of the situation, and over the possible trend from now on, today, tomorrow, and in the following days. In his speech yesterday, the president stated nicely that no republic has won and that no unprincipled coalition has won. I very much fear that it is the other way round; that one republic has lost and that an unprincipled coalition has won. [passage omitted]

Stipe Suvar: I Do Not Believe in the Existence of a Coalition [subhead]

What happened with the vote of confidence concerning us 10 members of the Presidium is in itself a new and unexpected thing, because this has never happened before. All those in previous Presidiums—this Presidium has the fortune or misfortune to be different—stayed in the Presidium until the end, until the next congress, unless something physical happened to them. I do not remember, but older comrades know better, health was not the reason for leaving. There were also expulsions over responsibility, but this was a long time ago, in Tito's time when Djilas and Rankovic were expelled. Forgive me, these are perhaps not the right comparisons, but since the 10th congress, since the

Central Committee has existed in this form, the Central Committee, its members have always been elected in the republics and provinces. The congress approved them. The novelty at the 13th congress was that the members were nominated at the republican congresses and party conferences. The members of the Presidium have always been elected by the Central Committee.

There was one case, when we were electing the Central Committee and electing its Presidium after the 12th congress, when one comrade did not receive the necessary two-thirds of the votes, but the Central Committee at that time decided to repeat the vote of confidence, and he was elected.

Therefore, this is a precedent and it is not normal. It is also surprising because, I repeat, it has happened for the first time.

However, it appears to me, I feel deeply, that in time this will become normal in the election of the members of political and state organs, including the members of the Central Committee. I think that we will get used to this as a very normal and democratic procedure. When something happens for the first time, things may not appear that way.

We in the Presidium held a very open discussion about this, and on Sunday night we decided, with a great majority of votes, to go ahead with the proposal that all members of the Central Committee Presidium who had not submitted their resignations—and those whose resignations were not accepted by the Central Committee, although they had submitted them—and who are on permanent assignment here, which is to say all the members of the Presidium except the presidents of the Presidiums, who are ex-officio members of the Presidium, demand from the Central Committee an assessment of their work, behavior, responsibility, weaknesses, and virtues. We can only ask the Central Committee which elected us to do that. We were forced to do this, because we felt that in recent months the social circumstances and circumstances within the party and the Central Committee were such that it was increasingly difficult to work. We were exposed to increasing criticism. We felt less and less capable; this applies, if I can say this, to everyone personally, to Comrade Ckrebic, me, Comrade Korosec. We were all increasingly unhappy about this situation. This is why we decided to go through this test, which does not mean, as was said this morning, that in 1 month's time we should not go through the same thing, or when there is an opportunity for this or when we are forced into this, which is to say when those in the Presidium are forced to do this, regardless of who goes and who comes.

I also understand Comrade Vasil [Tupurkovski], but if I were him, I would not dare say, forgive me for saying this, that the result of the voting is a result of some unprincipled coalition. However, we must appreciate the fact that everybody has the right to his own feelings about the result, to his own opinions. However, he should also support his argument. I do not believe that among the Central Committee members there was any agitation for or against, agitation that would create an unprincipled political coalition of interests. I do not believe that this took place at this session. I do not know what happened in the past, whether there were similar cases, but it did not happen here....

Where do we stand now? Comrade Ckrebic has tendered his resignation, offered his resignation as a moral act. Comrade Milosevic has proposed that the discussion on the resignation be postponed until the Serbian LC Central Committee, which elected Comrade Ckrebic to the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium, has discussed and expressed its assessment and view on this.

I can recall the election of this Presidium at the Central Committee session at the 13th LCY Congress. The voting was also fluctuating to some extent. I received 10 fewer votes than Comrade Ckrebic, while Comrade Ckrebic received 10 fewer votes than others. This is life.

I do not know what we should do. Jovo Ugricic explained what the Statutory Commission wrote in the paper that was distributed to you. We have also heard Comrade Hafner. Does anybody want to comment on the voting? Shall we postpone this until the next session, or shall we discuss the voting now?

Slobodan Milosevic: Without a Pathetic Discussion [subhead]

Let us be brief because Comrade Ckrebic, who deserves the greatest recognition for his work and has such recognition in the Serbian LC, should not be the reason for conducting some pathetic discussion on the consequences of this political act.

I propose and would like to ask Comrade Ckrebic, this is exclusively his right and not a statutory obligation, not to insist on a discussion on his decision to resign, but that this be done in accordance with the proposal I made earlier. I beg him to accept this suggestion.

Joze Slokar: Tupurkovski's Remarks Should Be Rejected [subhead]

I deeply respect the reasons and motives given by Comrade Ckrebic, and by Comrade Milosevic. I think that we should support this. However, I also have an objection, like Comrade Suvar, to the remark made by Comrade Tupurkovski who spoke about some kind of unprincipled coalition. I, as a member of the Central Committee, do not want to live with this qualification. Therefore, I demand that this be either rejected or discussed.

Stipe Suvar: Our Responsibility Is Great [subhead]

Comrade Ckrebic has accepted the proposal made by Comrade Milosevic a few minutes ago. He does not insist that his resignation be discussed at the session today. I think that this concludes the discussion. I also propose that we do not further discuss what Comrade Tupurkovski said. We will discuss this at a Presidium session. The Central Committee has unanimously agreed with this suggestion.

3 Vojvodina Presidency Members Resign

LD2410150988 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1431 GMT 24 Oct 88

[Text] Novi Sad, October 24 (TANJUG)—Three members of Vojvodina's Provincial Presidency informed the Provincial Assembly that they were resigning their posts today.

The resignations by Zivko Blagojev, Slavko Veselinov and Djordje Radosavljevic are the latest in a series of resignations in Vojvodina after 100,000 demonstrators demanded the resignations of the entire Vojvodina and Novi Sad party leaderships on October 5-6.

Vojvodina's party leadership resigned on October 6 and Vojvodina Presidency President Nandor Major did the same on the same day.

Veselinov and Radosavljevic said they resigned to contribute to implementing the conclusions of top level League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) bodies on the need for personnel renewal in order to successfully and quickly resolve the crisis in society.

Radosavljevic said he was no longer able to fulfill his duties because of the sitation in Vojvodina and the responsibility he feels.

Blagojev explained his resignation saying that necessary conditions for him to meet his consitutionally and legally established duties did not exist in the present situation.

The demonstrators in Novi Sad demanded resignations from party officials mainly because the Vojvodina leadership, running counter to the will of the people, did not accept changes in the Constitution of Serbia which would give the republic the most important state competences over its territory including the two autonomous provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo.

The failure to accept the constitutional changes prevents Serbia from securing effective measures to combat Albanian chauvinists and separatists in Kosovo under whose terror Serbs and Montenegrins have been migrating from the province.

Serbia's party leadership also requested the Vojvodina party leadership's collective resignation and initiated the question of responsibility of officials in other Vojvodina institutions.

Croat LC Presidium Discusses Tasks

LD2410233988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1503 GMT 24 Oct 88

[Excerpt] Zagreb, 24 Oct (TANJUG)—Today's Croat LC Central Committee Presidium, presided over by Stanko Stojcevic, considered the immediate tasks derived from the stands and conclusions of the 17th LCY Central Committee session and 19th Croat LC Central Committee session.

The realization of the three basic groups of tasks will be discussed at meetings of the Croat LC Central Committee which will be held in the next few months according to the established schedule. The first meeting of the Croat LC Central Committee will deal with questions concerning the realization of LC conclusions on cadre policy by proceeding from the established stance that cadres are one of the most decisive prerequisites for the reform of the economical and political system.

This meeting should analyze and assess the contributions by the LCY Central Committee members from the Croat LC to the realization of the stands adopted by the 13th LCY Congress and by the first conference of Yugoslav Communists. The Croat LC Central Committee will also assess activity by LC members and organizations in the SAWP. According to the conclusions by the Croat LC Central Committee Presidium the Croat LC Central Committee, will, by the end of this year, discuss and adopt stands on the realization of the economic reform in the SR of Croatia and on the directions of the socioeconomic development of the republic in 1989. [passage omitted]

Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Presidium Views Tasks

LD2410191888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1644 GMT 24 Oct 88

[Text] Sarajevo, 24 Oct (TANJUG)—The 17th LCY Central Committee session expressed a resolute course toward implementation of the reform of the economic and political system and the transformation of the LCY, it was assessed today by the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee Presidium when establishing its own tasks in the implementation of the LCY session conclusions. It was stressed that the Yugoslav orientation expressed at the session is a vital condition of united action, by which Kosovo's problems will be more effectively resolved in a favorable political climate, the constitutional changes approved in the envisaged time periods, and the economic reforms positively approached.

The Presidium assessed that it is unacceptable at this moment to place the details and differences expressed at the 17th LCY Central Committee session ahead of what was expressed and established in a united way as a common obligation and task.

Montenegrin Assembly on Confidence in Presidency

LD2410153588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1137 GMT 24 Oct 88

[Text] Titograd, 24 Oct (TANJUG)—The Montenegrin and the broader public is awaiting with great interest tomorrow's session of the Montenegrin Assembly at which delegates will make clear their views on their confidence in the Presidency of the republic and the members of that organ, and in the republican Executive Council and all its members individually. The delegates are also to make clear their views on their confidence in the president and vice president of the republican Assembly and on the resignations of Radivoje Brasovic, member of the Montenegrin Presidency, and Lazar Djodjic republican secretary for internal affairs.

The main theme of the joint session of all three chambers is the current political, security, and socioeconomic situation in the republic. A report on this will be given by Dr Bozina Ivanovic, president of the Montenegrin Presidency, and Vuko Vukadinovic, president of the Executive Council.

The recently-formed Assembly Commission will acquaint the delegates with its findings on whether police overstepped their authority when they intervened in the protest gathering in Titograd and against workers of the Niksic iron and steel works. It should be said that the Presidium of the republican conference of the Federation of Socialist Youth entrusted its delegation in the Montenegrin Assembly with proposing the opening of an Assembly debate on the introduction of urgent measures [hitne mere] for the prevention of a state of emergency [vanredno stanje]. The leadership of the Montenegrin youth considers that a debate on this issue should be conducted at a separate session and that on this occasion the justification, constitutionality, and legality of the introduction of urgent measures sould be assessed, as well as their territorial scope and duration and the way in which the public was informed of the introduction of the stated measures which were, in fact, terminated on 22 October by decision of the republican Presidency.

Bureau Announces Personal Income Statistics

LD0510154388 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1457 GMT 5 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, October 5 (TANJUG)—Average personal incomes in Yugoslavia this July were 416,571 dinars (just over 120 dollars), as announced by the Federal Bureau of Statistics.

Monthly salaries were slightly lower in the economy (411,371 dinars) and higher in the non-economic sector (443,467 dinars).

The Federal Statistics Bureau did not cite the loss in real value in salaries in the July 1987-July 1988 period. It was stated that compared to the July 1987 salaries, this years' have nominally increased by 146 per cent. Inflation in July 1988, compared to the same period last year, is 188.9 per cent.

This July, Yugoslavs employed in sea transport, foreign trade and pipeline transport earned the highest salaries, while those employed in the production of leather footwear and ready-made clothes earned the lowest salaries.

Papic Reports on Current State of Economy

LD0710101988 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1832 GMT 6 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, October 6 (TANJUG)—The overall Yugoslav exports increased 10.5 percent in the January-September period of this year, and the exports to the hard-currency markets 14 percent, as director of the Federal Planning Bureau Dr Zarko Papic stated in the assembly of Yugoslavia's Chamber of Republics and Provinces today.

The trade balance improved in the same period and the trade deficit, calculated on the basis of the current rates of exchange, stood at 394 million dollars at the end of September, or was 589 million lower than at the same time last year.

The invisible trade revenues also increased. The amount of foreign currency exchanged at exchange offices in Yugoslavia rose 79.7 percent through the end of September.

The favourable balance-of-payments results enabled a significant increase in the country's foreign-currency reserves. The foreign-currency market operated smoothly. In the May-September period, three billion 776 million dollars in foreign payments were met. The favourable trends, as Papic underscored, were effected by the federal government measures introduced in May, under which prices, imports and the foreign-currency market were liberalized.

Despite an improvement in August, the industrial production growth rate for the first eight months of this year was negative, that is, 1.3 percent lower than in the same period of 1987. The negative trend was primarily due, as Papic said, to high production costs, unfavourable import trends, a lack of working capital, a stagnation and decline in investments and an increase in the economy's indebtedness.

The economy's excessive appropriations for social and joint spending and excessively high total interest rates were the main sources of inflation, which stood at 217 percent in September. The problem of the economy's unliquidity grew more acute as did also the problem of internal indebtedness, especially in the less developed parts of the country.

Papic assessed that the national economy's more successful performance primarily depended on the easing of the financial burden imposed on it, the revival of production, higher imports (which increased only 2.7 percent in the May-September period) and greater incentives for workers.

This year, as estimated, Yugoslavia's social product will drop 1 percent, industrial production 0.6 percent and agricultural production 5 percent, as Papic warned.

Underscoring that the government would continue pursuing the economic policy line adopted in May this year, Papic said the upcoming measures would only supplement the current policy and there would be no return to the economy's administrative regulation.

Changes will be proposed in the securities law, with a view to increasing the economy's liquidity and engaging all available funds. In view of the drop in the standards of living and a high increase in the living costs, the federal government will recommend to the republics and provinces not the increase the prices of public utilities this year and will propose to the federal legislature to amend the law on limited personal incomes in order to ensure greater incentives for the employed, Papic said.

Economic Restructuring Discussed in Chamber
LD2210110088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1403 GMT 20 Oct 88

["Federal Chamber Session Proceedings (First Day)"—TANJUG Headline]

[Excerpts] [dateline not received; transmission begins with Tanjug part 2 of 26 parts]

The essence of the approved changes to the Law on the Social Accountancy Service is in the shift of interest rate obligations from a secondary to a number one priority, so that the banks might pay this revenue on a more regular basis. The payment of these sums also has priority over the payment of earnings. To be sure, the law envisages that the Social Accountancy Service first of all removes money from the bank accounts of collectives, but if there is not enough of it in the bank account, it is transferred from other accounts belonging to the enterprise.

Funds in a special account which are safeguarded by law and do not have the obligation to be repaid, can be used only for maintaining current production and not, like others, for emergency payments.

The changes in fact facilitate both the survival and the recovery of insolvent organizations and at the same time ensure the protection of social property and the interests of creditors.

The Federal Chamber considered information on visits by groups of citizens to the Yugoslav Assembly. This was explained by Hisen Ramadani, chairman of the Petitions and Complaints Commission. He stressed that this year almost three times more citizens than last year addressed themselves either in writing or orally to federal organs and that, from the beginning of the year to the middle of July, 30 groups of citizens, in other words more than 10,000 people, and in October a further 5,000 workers from Rakovica and subsequently about 2,000 workers from Rekord, and similar numbers in Rakovica, had turned to the Yugoslav Assembly.

Indicating that people are complaining about personal problems and also about the situation in society, Ramadani stressed that the complaints from Kosovo are indicative of the situation in the province and that the commission is giving them priority consideration.

Ramadani assessed that the profound crisis is the cause of citizens' increasingly frequent and mass appeals to the Assembly, and that it is necessary for the Assembly to be energetically and consistently involved in resolving the problems people are complaining about, which are within the scope of federation organs.

In the discussion, in which 21 delegates took part, the discussion focused on the causes of the mass arrival of workers to the Assembly.

The first to speak was Federal Finance Secretary Svetozar Rikanovic, who said:

What is the common denominator of the workers' demands in the economic sense of the word? They are seeking to live better, and they are requesting the return of that part of their income which society has appropriated from them over and above what they believe is justifiable. At the same time, workers in some organizations of associated labor believe that they work more than the market acknowledges in terms of income.

This second request is a sure sign that there has been a lack of a true dialogue, or that it is inadequate, in our factories between the management, specialist services, and workers. It is also a sign that self-management is often stifled and repressed, and that the question of the responsibility of management organs for the outmoded programs of production which the market does not accept, and for the enormously high stocks of finished products from which personal income cannot be squeezed, is being raised insufficiently and unsuccessfully.

In terms of the demands to return that part of income which is deducted for the needs of all the social overheads in our country, the appeals to the SFRY Assembly are an expression of the justified dissatisfaction which has accumulated over the years in the working class as a result of the powerlessness of society to settle in a suitable way the relations between the economy and these social overheads.

In this respect, Rikanovic stressed, the workers have not sought anything surprising, but only the implementation of the conclusions of party and state organs on relieving the burden on the economy which these organs, over a great many years, have adopted but not implemented. The Assembly has sought to implement the long-term program of economic stabilization, the program of May measures, and the intervention laws on the restriction of general and joint consumption.

When these same demands were made by workers—true, in a much more peaceful way—10, 15 and 20 years ago, instead of social overheads being set at an economically rational and possible level, the economy began to obtain concessions in the form of an unrealistic exchange rate for the dinar. This is why foreign loans became cheaper and poured into our country at an accelerated rate to provide the needed capital which, still in the form of income, went on intolerably high overheads. Foreign indebtedness seriously depressed and incapacitated our economy, as we know, for a long period of years, preventing it from operating in the conditions of realistic values for the factors of production.

Today once again, after who knows how many times, we encounter resistance to the reduction of social overheads to an economically tolerable level. Since the scope for fresh infusions of funds has dried up, unless the rescheduled foreign debt is mistakenly used for this, confrontation with realities has developed into open worker dissatisfaction and protests by workers. Their protests, although expressed most frequently here in the federation, in the SFRY Assembly, should be understood as a protest against all those who adopt decisions to the detriment of workers, against the autarchy of organizations of associated labor and against the demands on the economy in the self-managing communities of interest, the municipalities, the provinces, the republics and, of course, in the federation.

They should also be understood as a criticism of our constitutional traditions on the basis of which thousands of independent exponents of taxation rights, all mutually equal and independent and all stronger than the economy, have grown up. Today it is time, Rikanovic stressed, to ask ourselves whether the proposed amendments in this respect will change the situation in our country. Workers have also requested this.

Speaking about the capability of the federation to reduce demands on the economy, Rikanovic stressed that the FEC, especially this year, has been working very actively on this. He recalled that the program of consolidation of the Yugoslav foreign debt, which was in essence agreed with foreign creditors in May and June this year, has been proposed and accepted.

The implementation of this program will reduce the outflow of the country's social product on the basis of debt servicing to the tune of $2.2 billion this year, $1.6 billion in 1989, and about $2 billion in 1990.

The FEC takes the view, Rikanovic stressed, that the effects of rescheduling should be used more wisely than in previous years. After all, the question is raised as to whether the "relaxation" in connection with the foreign debt will be used for unproductive expenditure by debtors, which have not even sought this and which is not vital to them, or whether, instead of this the conditions will be created for the postponement of foreign obligations, wherever this is possible, to be transformed into domestic accumulation usable for new technologies, for the opening up of new jobs, and for necessary changes to our economic structure.

The FEC has proposed changes to the law on credit relations with foreign countries according to which debtors owing money on foreign loans will be obliged to accumulate funds equivalent to the original amount of the foreign debt due, accompanied by the uncurtailed right to use these funds for all their business needs, but not for personal, general, and jont expenditure, Rikanovic stressed.

Without going into a description of the economic reforms designed to free the economy from the tutelage of the state, from the restraint imposed by the agreed economy, the many misconceptions and dogmas of the nonmarket concept of business operations, and from "the destructive effect of the so-called nonownership character of social ownership, which is keeping us in a position where we choose between the conversion of social property into consumption and the administrative method of preserving its substance by the involuntary revaluation of social funds," Rikanovic enumerated the measures which have already been undertaken: above all the changes to the accountancy law and the Law on the Social Accountancy Service. [passage omitted]

Workers throughout Yugoslavia are not sufficiently aware, Rikanovic observed, that of each 100 dinars of the federal budget, 92 dinars are spent on three basic things: national defense needs, additional funds for the undeveloped republics and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, and on veterans; and disability allowances, in other words on military pensions.

There is neither any income tax, nor tax on personal income on these sources of federal finance, Rikanovic then stressed, as the federation does not have the authority to levy such taxes. The federation does not even burden the economy indirectly via contributions from the socialist republics and the socialist autonomous provinces to the federal Budget, because contributions from the socialist republics and the socialist autonomous provinces apply, as a rule, to the budget—at the level of the revenue of the socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces—derived from part of the basic turnover tax.

Otherwise, the share of turnover tax (without the contributions from the socialist republics and the socialist autonomous provinces) in the federal budget's revenue sources is a full 47.6 percent, though it is well-known that citizens, and not the economy, are the ones who pay this tax.

In a sense, the federation is only charging the economy with commitments on the basis of customs duties, which amount to only 32.9 percent of the Federal Budget income this year, and this, according to Rikanovic, is basically the only possible area in which the federation can act in the direction of relieving the economy. A very high percentage of overall earnings at the level of the federation goes to the economy itself in the form of various grants, incentives, and subsidies, so that for a great part of the balance of the federation it can be said that it is the instrument of redistribution within the economy rather than an instrument for the appropriation of its income, Rikanovic stressed. In this area, 79.3 percent of the income of the federation from the economy is used for the needs of the economy.

The federal finance secretary noted also that an enormous part of the internal debt over a number of years has been gradually transferred to the federation, so that it can and must be said that in Yugoslavia there is a very high level of deficit financing of state expenditure.

"Unfortunately," Rikanovic said, "the identification of that public debt and the facts of the deficit method of financing the Federation as a form of overcoming that deficit in the decades to come does not promise to relieve the economy. Rather the opposite—it is a confrontation with the serious legacy of the past and with the sad consequences of the application of a faulty economic system and misguided economic policy. This legacy cannot be denied. We should not agree, however, to this being identified with our times, if for no other reason than to ensure that this mistaken identification does not take away our right to carry out the reform for finding a way out of the crisis."

He then enumerated the decisions of the Federal Executive Council on the reduction of customs and other import duties, whereby the economy is relieved by about 139 billion dinars, and the new solutions on exemption from customs payments, or their reduction, which came into force on 8 October, by which the economy will be relieved this year by a further 200 billion dinars approximately.

A total relieving of the economy was carried out at the level of the federation for this year, stressed Rikanovic, adding that a qualitatively new situation would be created for the Yugoslav economy if all those who appropriate its income ensured an equivalent amount of relief.

The reduction of the rate of basic sales tax on oil derivatives in August has reduced appropriations by 231 billion dinars in the period from September to December, which represents a further 3.3 percent of the rebalanced budget for this year.

With the growth in prices, the exchange rate of the dinar and personal incomes, and thus also rights to pensions, invalid payments, and other expenditures from the federal budget, the existing frameworks of the Federal Budget are becoming tight for meeting the legally established rights of beneficiaries, Rikanovic stressed, noting that because of the difficulties in resolving such vital needs, and the need for the further relieving of the economy, there is no question about the inevitability of a new rebalancing of the federal budget.

This is also a reason why the FEC did not submit to this session the program of measures for the further unburdening of the economy, which is in preparation and will appear at the next sessions of the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces and the Federal Chamber, Rikanovic stressed.

At the level of federal organs, the following spheres were identified, he announced, in which changes could possibly be made to the volume of consumption in a very short period of time. These are:

—Revision of the justifiability of the further participation of the federation in the financing of part of the costs of the Belgrade-Tirana, Belgrade-Malta, and Belgrade-Cyprus air routes;

—Revision of the status and the method of work of airline services of federal organs;

Revision of rights to concessions in passenger transport fares;

Revision of rights to special supplements in the personal incomes of some groups of workers;

—Revision of rights on the establishment of the degree of severance pay in federal organs and organizations on the occasion of retirement;

—Revision of allowances for extended and overtime labor in professional-technical services of the federal organs;

—Revision of rights in connection with the use of official cars, as well as the organization of official vehicles;

—Revision of postal and telecommunications costs;

—Restriction of rights in connection with customs concessions for workers in diplomatic and consular missions.

—Reduction in diplomatic representation;

—Revision of possibility for the integration of services of protocol at the Federation level and other levels.

Within the framework of measures which should be introduced gradually, Rikanovic cited the following:

—Revision of rights to enhanced pensions for some categories of workers;

—Revision of rights in connection with pension requirements;

—Rationalization of services in diplomatic and consular missions;

—Revision of financing of some social and sociopolitical organizations from the budget;

—Revision of the volume of costs of international cooperation;

—Revision of financing of institutions in the public information sphere.

Within the Federation's framework of extrabudgetary balance in interdepartmental cooperation, possibilities are now being sought for reducing rights for covering foreign exchange rates by foreign credits, rights for covering foreign exchange rates in connection with the import of oil and for the Yugoslav pipeline, and also resources for the solidarity fund with developing countries.

I dissociate myself from assessments which criticize people taking to the streets, stressed Zarija Martinovic, continuing the discussion. The working class stood up to say that it is on the verge of hunger, and it is not possible to talk peacefully and in an indolent way with those who are hungry. They are asking, as he put it, that institutions should do their jobs and solve accumulated problems. No one, in his opinion, has the right to be angry when called to account if the job is not done, regardless of their past service. [passage omitted]

In the opinion of Assembly President Dusan Popovski, what is happening in front of the Assembly is only a drop in the sea of the manifested dissatisfaction of workers. Recalling that more than 1,000 organized demonstrations have been held in the country since January, he warned that this phenomenon should first and foremost concern those in certain social positions, who should draw conclusions from it, as he put it. [passage omitted]

We are very slow in learning lessons from the events which are happening to us, Mirjana Kulic-Saranovic stressed. The time for that was at the beginning of July when the workers from Vukovar were here, she believes. We are all capable of sitting and debating for hours and days, just as we will this time, too, but not of going out into the collectives, Saranovic said self-critically. She appealed to the people in the FEC to react promptly. Today's speech by Rakonovic would have had far greater effect if someone from the department had offered an explanation to the workers, she stressed. [passage omitted]

Discussing whether the FEC, preoccupied with reform, is sufficiently concerned with measures of current economic policy, Milos Milosavljevic, vice president of the FEC, pointed to the fact that it is precisely the Federal Chamber which set the deadline for reform. These measures are to come into force at the beginning of next year, which is by no means an easy task, Milosavljevic said. We are not avoiding the responsibility for measures of current economic policy, but I believe that this question should be discussed on the basis of concrete facts and on those measures where we did not react promptly, Milosavljevic stressed.

What Rakanovic said today about relieving the economy is not our ultimate aim, but only issues which have been singled out, Milosavljevic said. At the next session of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces we will discuss what the Federation can do about this, he added.

Milosavljevic warned that we should beware of the illusion that the introduction of the three reforms will overcome all difficulties. The working class should not fear reform, but this does not mean that everything which is not a viable concern will become successful overnight, Milosavljevic stressed. [passage omitted]

In the afternoon the Chamber adopted changes in the law on the limitation of personal incomes, which enables the nominal limit of growth of gross earnings this year, in comparison to last year, to be adjusted from 119 to 140 percent, so that their further real decline is halted. According to estimates, personal incomes are now about 10 percent lower in real terms than they were a year ago.

The "ceiling" for raising pay in collectives which are successful in business or have above-average accumulation is raised even higher. Gross personal incomes this year in such organizations can be higher than last year's by up to 152 percent. These organizations can direct 90 percent, instead of half, of their own "surplus" of the average accumulative rate in the same branch into pay. This means in practical terms that greater reliance on accumulation extends the annual nominal limit for the increase of personal incomes of employees in these collectives.

Improvements in social activities have been secured as well. As this year's basis for the payment of earnings, they can use their average gross personal incomes from last year "derived" according to their own distribution scales, coordinated with the social agreement on income. This means they may use as their basis what they could have paid, and not what they did pay. Large concessions have been secured for employees in the education and health and social welfare sectors, because they will not be "caught" by the law on recovery when it comes to paying personal incomes. They will be met "normally" and not according to the regulations which apply to lossmakers.

Raising the "anchor" on pay has yielded the possibility of increasing it, but this is not obligatory, which means that it will be distributed in accordance with earned income. Following this explanation by Dr Janko Obocki, chairman of the Federal Committee for Labor, Health, and Social Policy, the Chamber adopted conclusions which stress that the regulation of earnings by the intervention law should be abandoned from next year. The competent organs should, therefore, prepare on time a social agreement on the generation and distribution of income. The FEC has already set in motion an initiative

for adopting the agreement, which should be adjusted to the forthcoming reform of the economic system. The aim is that pay should be calculated from 1 January according to social agreements and self-managing agreements on income, Obocki recalled. [passage omitted]

The Federal Chamber delegates approved the draft resolution on the bases of the policy of demographic development and family planning. The prevailing view in the discussion of that document was that family planning is one of the foundations of a stable, modern society, and that this area is of exceptional importance for the socioeconomic development of the country.

The problem of the high birthrate has existed for years in Kosovo, Ali Zejnuni said, stressing that for the situation to change, it is essential to increase birth control and consistently implement family planning. In the province, he continued, the high unemployment of women encourages the growth of the birthrate, which is all the more obvious when research shows that an employed woman gives birth on average to 2.8 children while an unemployed woman has 5.4. Only one-fifth of those employed in Kosovo are women, Zejnuni stressed, while in Macedonia the figure is one-third, and in Slovenia almost half of all those carrying out economic activity are women. [passage omitted]

Dobroslav Culafic, federal secretary for internal affairs; Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs; and Stane Brovet, undersecretary in the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, informed the delegates about the political-security situation in the country and its implications for yugoslavia's international position and reputation.

According to Stjepan Novakovic, president of the Chamber, there will be a debate on this at the session in November when the Assembly will be addressed by the SFRY Presidency.

Final Part of Suvar Speech to Kumrovec Students

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[Fifth and final installment of a speech delivered by Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, to students of the Josip Broz Tito Political School in Kumrovec on 15 September]

[Text] Today, Yugoslavia, which was born in the liberation war of all our peoples and nationalities, is being shaken by nationalism more than ever before. Is it really threatening to break Yugoslavia soon? Newspapers and radio and television stations throughout the world report that Yugoslavia, which was formed as a socialist and federal country under Tito's leadership, and which was under his leadership for almost 4 decades, is going to break, that a civil war will break out.

Through our behavior and quarreling, through our squabbling and affairs which we created and stimulated ourselves, through the fact the LCY has become weaker as a political force that should offer vision, open up prospects, and provide the initiative, through the fact that the LC is fragmented, that is broken into eight republican and provincial monoliths which primarily serve national-bureaucratic structures, we have given our neighbors and the world reason to genuinely think that Yugoslavia has become a patient without hope.

However, everything depends on us. Others could only interfere if we literally shed blood and offer ourselves as plunder, as a country for sale. In this process, those who think that some parts of Yugoslavia belong to them, would perhaps try to take these parts, while the blocs would try to divide us into their spheres of interest.

However, I am deeply convinced that all those in the world, and in our country, who are already conducting a requiem for our country are wrong. I am also deeply convinced that the great majority of people in our country, regardless of their nationality, regardless of their religious or atheist beliefs, or political views, are ready to stand up and defend socialism and the main achievements of our revolution and federal system. The masses remember history and what we were and became during the people's liberation war, what we have achieved despite the fact that in the last decade we have been stagnating, that we and the burdened Yugoslav community have in many respects regressed. This is the main reason for us to stay on the strategic path of our socialist revolution. The memories of this have the power of material fact, and cannot be easily erased.

We must not be afraid that we are lost, we must not make others fear that we are lost, incompetent, lazy, that we are forever sunk in the mire of the past with all our historic troubles that have been following us, troubles that we have created ourselves, and with all mythological patterns of consciousness and atavism that people carry in themselves even after they have gone through the fire of the revolution and when they are immersed in socialist phraseology.

It is therefore high time to resist the biggest specter ever of all our nationalisms. I would like to say more about nationalism again because I have spoken and written about this subject extensively before.

As we all know and as we all in Yugoslavia have experienced with fear, Croatian nationalism eruptively entered the social scene in the 1970's. Croatian nationalism planted its seeds and even today we can see its poisonous plants growing. It is destroying and waiting for a new opportunity to settle its accounts or to form a coalition with other nationalism in our country.

After the defeat of the Ballists in 1945, Albanian nationalists in Kosovo and Macedonia again showed their real face in the 1968 demonstrations with a certain force and

through open separatist demands. Then, when they decided that it was the right moment, 1 year after Tito's death, they openly and with much greater ferocity than in 1968 demanded that Kosovo be a republic as the first step toward the creation of the so-called great Albania. We have not succeeded yet as Yugoslavia, and not just as Serbia, Macedonia, or just as socialist force to defeat the consequences of the eruption of Albanian nationalism. Albanian nationalists therefore continue to attack Serbs, Montenegrins, and other peoples and nationalities, as well as their property. Recently we saw leaflets calling for an uprising. Kosovo was discussed at the Ninth and 16th LCY Central Committee Sessions and will be extensively discussed at the 17th LCY Central Committee Plenum. It is more than obvious that what we want and have always wanted is not to waste words, but to act directly and involve the whole of Yugoslavia. This involvement has, however, predominantly been verbal (despite the great material aid that has been sent to Kosovo as the most undeveloped region, and despite the increasing investments in new plants there by associates labor organizations from all over the country).

Media's Promotion of Serbian Nationalism [subhead]

Meanwhile, in recent years Slovene nationalists have became more vociferous. They claim that it is not good for Slovenia to be a part of Yugoslavia and that its future within it is not bright. They also offer constitutional solutions according to which Yugoslavia would remain Slovenia's geographically unavoidable neighbor. They are trying to frighten the Slovene people with the resurrection of unitarianism, centralism, and Balkan barbarism as opposed to their highly civilized European race, they are trying to frighten them with an invasion and the flood of "southerners." They particular attack the Yugoslav People's Army and are trying to disgrace it as alleged exponent of military repression, as an almost an occupation force.

Using the misdeeds committed by Albanian nationalists in Kosovo, and the truly absurd fact that, according to the present Constitution, Serbia as a republic does not have certain necessary and normal powers in the territories of the provinces that constitute parts of it, as well as the fact that almost all other nationalists in Yugoslavia are trying to inspire anti-Serbian feelings, and even think of forming an anti-Serbian coalition, Serbian nationalists have also been sharply raising their voices in Serbia and in Yugoslavia as a whole. They are primarily attacking Josip Broz Tito and his work, alleging that he was sent by the Cominform and that Tito was the main culprit responsible for the present difficult and unenviable position of the Serbian people, that the Serbian people has suffered a defeat in peace, and so forth. Today, this nationalism is strongly promoted by the media. It is particularly worrying that Serbian nationalists call for the alteration or even abolition of borders within Yugoslavia, something that endangers those peoples in our country who were given the right to self-determination by the revolution.

All "our" other nationalisms are also on the scene.

All nationalists claim without exception that their national question has not been resolved in Yugoslavia—despite the people's liberation struggle, the decisions of the AVNOJ [National Antifascist Liberation Council of Yugoslavia], federal organization, the full equality of peoples and nationalities, or just in spite of all this. Serbian nationalists claim that the Serbian national question has not been resolved, Croatian nationalists that the Croatian national question has not been resolved, Slovene nationalists that the Slovene national question has not been resolved, and Albanian nationalist that their question is not resolved, and so forth.

Today, it is easy to become and be a nationalist, but it is very difficult to remain and be a communist. The easiest way to become popular is to play the card of a national leader, regardless of whether "official" or installed, or a leader who became famous as a national hero behind the scenes and at spontaneous rallies. The nationalist plague has penetrated the ranks of the LC to a great extent. Clashes within the LC and its impotence as an organization, as the LCY, mainly stem from the fact that some of its parts, some of its leaderships have become the prisoners of nationalist and national-bureaucratic interests.

The decentralization of society has not resulted in the blossoming of the democracy of self-managers, democracy that would integrate Yugoslav society through associated labor and the free circulation of social surplus value that is in the hands of producers. Local bureaucracy and statism are under the influence of "national," republican, and provincial bureaucracy and statism and at the same time represent their basis. They are also conducting a war against one another in both institutional and political circles through powerful ideological and information machinery which is more or less under their control. This is all to the detriment of Yugoslavia. They are breaking up Yugoslavia and questioning everything that is Yugoslav. The integration of Yugoslavia on the class basis has not occurred or has come to nothing. It was in fact the disintegration of Yugoslavia that has made progress in Yugoslavia's attempt to constitute itself and settle its accounts with polycentric statism. Every one of our statisms is dressed in nationalist clothes. Everybody is destroying Yugoslavia in an attempt to create nationally monolithic and authoritarian undemocratic societies.

Chauvinism Under the Skin [subhead]

Today, it appears that many Yugoslav Communists are applying the old Lenin saying, changing the name and adjective as appropriate: "Scratch a Russian Communist, and underneath you will find a great Russian chauvinist!"

None of our peoples, regardless of when they had their own state in the past, and to what extent, regardless of whether their past was glorious and difficult, can achieve

something by turning to the myths of glorious history and the national state. They would only become a province, would only fence themselves off, homogenize into unfulfilled and obsolete entity, and necessarily antagonize themselves with other peoples with which they jointly, through the joint revolution, created joint socialist prospects within Yugoslavia's federation.

Yugoslavia cannot survive if everybody in it wanted their own national socialism. Six or eight such socialisms would jeopardize the Yugoslav Socialist verticalness [vertikala] and the very structure created by the revolution. We can only march into the future with Yugoslav perspectives and with the whole country open to Europe and the world, with every nation and every nationality retaining its national identity. Otherwise we are in danger of tragi-comically returning to the past, and instead of going forward into the 21st century, we could go back into the 19th. Is anybody else in Europe or even the world facing this kind of danger?

We are therefore talking about Yugoslavia's need to integrate on a new basis, with a new, developed structure of production forces, and its need to be open to the world. With its national and cultural complexity, which should be preserved, Yugoslavia must continue to be the generator of new ideas. This would also be fruitful to the development of socialism in the world. But this is something I have already spoken about at the beginning of my speech.

All those in the country who truly want Yugoslavia to remain socialist, who want its peoples and nationalities to remain free and to advance in togetherness, who want its citizens and the working people to be in charge of making decisions on public affairs, who want human relations to prevail, a creative spirit and climate to blossom, and class divisions to be abolished, must in fact tackle the tasks which integrate and develop the country on these foundations.

They must all take part in this in order to, in the interest of the country, check and overcome the forces and attitudes that are pulling us into the past and its dark sides, or that want us to preserve the status quo.

One of the wide spread assertions among our public, and often repeated in the world, is that Yugoslavia's problems and difficulties stem from the fact that it is led by incompetent collective leaderships, and that they are irresponsible and powerless.

Tito's Successors [subhead]

In this way they would like to see someone emerge to virtually step into Tito's shoes, someone the people would trust, someone who would be capable of acting as a referee, someone everyone would listen to and respect.

As much as we can understand such wishes that have appeared even among the people, we must reject such speculative logic about a possible savior or saviors.

Tito was a historic person and he was accompanied by a pleiad of great revolutionaries. His and their authority were undisputable. They made their mistakes and had their shortcoming but I think that we should not talk about them today, especially because their virtues and merits were disproportionally greater and because they will be forever remembered in our history for these virtues.

As regards authority and the leadership of society, we must know that in our country there are no historic personalities any longer, that charismatic persons cannot emerge, and that no individual can assume the power to the extent that everybody unquestioningly obeys him. It is particularly funny even to think that anyone could succeed Tito. Tito was liked and accepted by all our people and all our peoples and nationalities. It is unimaginable that anybody in Yugoslavia could affirm himself as a generally accepted person if he tried to do so through some sort of national leaderism [liderstvo].

Friedrich Engels wrote that after the socialist revolution scores victory, "public functions would lose their political character and will become ordinary administrative functions that look after the true interests of society." The contemporary socialist societies have, after all, reached this threshold.

We in this country must finally choose and, if need be, change in a democratic way the leaderships at all levels, ranging from communes to the federation. This should also take place in the production and political spheres. Nobody should remain in his post for a long time, despite the fact that the presently short terms of offices are untenable, except perhaps in the case of electing the first among equals to the post of the collective head of our federal state. Everybody should count on the possibility of being recalled and on the duty to resign. This should take place in a democratic atmosphere in which everybody respects the integrity of a human individual and nurtures a political culture appropriate for civilized people of our time. What is very important are personal abilities, moral characteristics, that people are not corrupt, that nothing is obtained illegally. Also very important is initiative, the ability to gather people, but not behind the scenes and based on compromises and opportunism, and so forth. However, the selection of such people is only possible through an open election and through the verification of everything they have done and proposed. At present, the cadre policy, which launches some people into the orbit of federal posts, is more or less the monopoly of narrow groups in the republics and provinces. The same applies to the "launching" of people into these orbits in the communes, provinces, republics, and even work organizations and in all other institutions and organizations.

In the context of these remarks, we must look at the people in the LCY leaderships, the methods of these leaderships' work, as well as the behavior and relations within them and toward them.

On this occasion I would particularly like to talk about the role of the LCY Central Committee.

I would like to proceed from the topic concerning unity and the lack of unity in the LCY Central Committee and in this context, from the fact that the broadest public claims that that the clue to everything lies in the lack of unity in the LCY Central Committee. However, I must also say something more about unity in the LCY, tendencies toward the federalization of the LCY itself, tendencies which at present render the LCY Central Committee fairly impotent.

Today, the uniformity in views is not desirable in the LCY Central Committee and other leaderships, nor is it desirable in other party organizations. On the contrary, we need a free struggle of opinions as well as the application of democratic centralism in implementing what we have agreed on and adopted. During Tito's time, at the Central Committee sessions neither he or other prominent people from the revolution's leaderships were hardly ever opposed. Differences, however, existed but they were completely hidden from the public. Heads rolled when some individuals were out of the leadership line to such an extent that there was no place for them in the leadership any longer (for instance, the cases of Djilas and Rankovic). The changes in the republican and provincial party leaderships in the 1970's were conducted in the context of Tito's and Kardelj's authority.

Unity on the Public Scene [subhead]

Today, unity in both the LCY and the LCY Central Committee must be built and achieved on the public scene and this assumes the public expression of opinions, confrontation of arguments, the freedom of criticism, and even the right to a different opinion and to vote differently. Of course, this would all be within the limits envisaged and permitted by the LCY Program and Statute. We must become accustomed to the fact that at LCY Central Committee sessions some of its members discuss issues among themselves, and even differ in their views and proposals, but that they are, just like any other LC members, obliged to obey what has been decided according to the principles of democratic centralism and to implement it accordingly. However, if anyone diverges from the LCY Program and violates the LCY Statute, he should bear responsibility, especially if he is in the leadership.

In public, many appeals have been made for unity and many criticisms have been made with regard to the lack of unity in the leadership, without a proper explanation of what kind of unity we want and need to build. What is important is unity concerning strategic questions. It is no longer sufficient to only swear by the fundamental achievement of the revolution. This often hides the fact that at present there is no unity about the crucial issues and the situation and relations in Yugoslavia and the LCY, and that there will be no unity in the future. There are many cases of simplifying and fabricating the classification of individuals, and even whole nations, which is to say the republics and provinces, in terms of alleged Stalinists and alleged democrats, into the Stalinist and democratic parts of the LC. In this process crude criticisms and defamations are made either in the sense of dividing people between those who favor unity in the LCY and Yugoslavia and a proper communist action, and those who are against this and work against this, or classifying people according to whether they are conservatives, defenders of the status quo, blind followers of Tito's legacy, or new visionists, modernists, the advocates of a civil society and the civilization of the 21st century, and so forth. Of course, some other similar classifications could be made, but we cannot make them without evidence and the public's fuller insight into the views, aspirations, and behavior of every individual and every part of the country.

At a time when we are experiencing the economic crisis, the erosion of moral and revolutionary vigor in our communist movement itself, as well as a certain degree of regression concerning socialists achievements and serious doubts about the justification and preservation of socialist solutions, a wide strata of people, especially young people, are exposed to the disastrous and poisonous winds of nationalisms. However, the most horrifying and dangerous fact is the appearance of a very serious view that the LCY has become not only a mere coalition of national-republican and provincial organizations, that it serves as an arena for pragmatic bargaining and unprincipled divisions and attacks, but something much worse, more horrifying, namely that it is falling apart into political monoliths which would be maintained on the basis of national homogenization and reconciliation.

Polycentric statism and statist-bureaucratic attitudes and thinking have for some time been creating the elements of monolithic unity in the top republican and provincial LC organizations. This leads to both "cooperation" and "confrontation" among these organizations and the entire LCY. This in principle exposes certain parts of the LC to the real danger of expressing the interests of "national" techno-bureaucracy and "national" cultural elites more than the interests of the workers class and the nation itself. This is creating tendencies toward the LCY's federalization, and in actual relations, these tendencies are pulling toward the consensus of all the republican and provincial organizations. Not only in the last few months and days but also over a longer period of time, has the habit been developed that one's own leaders are praised and said to be good, even excellent, extremely responsible, competent, democratic, and so forth, while other leaderships are suspected. The federal leadership is showered with serious insinuations, it is accused and named as incompetent, disunited, and irresponsible. In other words it is being entirely blamed for the situation and relations in the country, and so forth. Recently, this unprincipled criticism of "others," including the barrage against the LCY Central Committee, its Presidium, and several of its members, has assumed more than worrying proportions.

In order to understand the role and the extent of the influence of the present LCY Central Committee, we

should go back a little bit in the past. Until the Eighth Congress in 1964, the people elected to the LCY Central Committee were those who, as a rule, took part in the people's liberation struggle and who, in the first 2 decades following the liberation, acquired and had respect in the LC and among the people. Everybody in the country knew them and everybody stood by them. People did not care much about their nationality or which republic they came from, but all republics, regions, peoples, and even some more numerous nationalities were nevertheless represented.... The LCY Presidium was elected at the Ninth Congress, while the Central Committee was not even being elected and did not exist until the 10th Congress. The members of the LCY Presidium were elected on the principle of republican parity and appropriate representation of the provincial LC organizations. The delegates to the three following congresses, the 10th, 11th, and 12th Congresses, did not have the opportunity to elect the Central Committee but only confirm the election of the members at the republican congresses and provincial conferences, again on the party principle and appropriate representation. The delegates to the 13th Congress did elect the Central Committee, the present Central Committee, which is currently being sharply criticized and which bears the responsibility for what has been or has not been done in the last 2 years. This election process is still being done on the basis of the collection of the republican and provincial lists.

Let me also add the following: Out of the 161 members of the present LCY Central Committee only 34 were its members before the 13th Congress, 43 are professionals working in the LC and other sociopolitical organizations and sociopolitical communities, 34 are workers and peasants, 29 are engineers and technicians, 26 are holders of a PhD or an MA, two-thirds of them earn less than 70 million old dinars, and the great majority of them do not own a holiday house, and so forth.

Fatal Federalization of the LC [subhead]

Today, the LCY Central Committee can be openly criticized, which is desirable, and this is being done increasingly more. Its role and and influence are limited by the obvious fact that the federalization of the LCY has advanced so much that it has become fatal and destroys and kills the LCY. While Tito was at the forefront, and with him other authoritative people from the people's liberation struggle, people used to listen to the "center," which is to say the Central Committee and Tito. After Tito's death we did not use the opportunity of making the LCY Central Committee into a collective Tito. Immediately after the 12th Congress one of the candidates did not received the necessary two-thirds of votes for membership to the LCY Central Committee Presidium, but his republican organization posed an ultimatum and he later even became the president of the Presidium, and so forth.

Democratic centralism works to some extent—and the stress is on centralism—up to the republican and provincial level, but is almost non-existent at the federal level. The LCY Central Committee can today be criticized most sharply and in a very unprincipled way, but one cannot address even a single word of criticism to some republican central committees. We in the LCY Central Committee must consult the republican and provincial leaderships about everything while they do not have to consult us about anything.

We are therefore not talking about the LCY Central Committee imposing some kind of "authority," or about establishing some kind of politburo that everybody would obey, we are not talking about achieving unity mechanically and through decrees, but on the contrary, about developing democratic relations, the freedom of criticism, the election of people to Yugoslav leaderships and federal posts on the basis of insight, recommendations, and their affirmation in the LCY and the entire country.

I cannot talk about the deeper causes of this situation and relations on this occasion, but I think that before the 14th Congress and at the 14th Congress we should study these issues more thoroughly, and not only study them, but also change the current state of affairs. We should indeed make it possible, and we must fight for people being nominated as candidates, every list should have more candidates than posts to be filled, everybody should be thoroughly checked in full public view, and everybody should be able to publicly and openly express his views and arguments and be ready to assume responsibility and bear the consequences. This should become an established practice, a practice that would be respected by all, ranging from the basic LC organizations to the LCY Central Committee, as well as by all sociopolitical organizations and leaders in the entire delegate system. In this way we would prevent those individuals who have even been glorified in their own communities, but toward whom everybody else in Yugoslavia hold some reservations, from assuming duties in the LCY Central Committee and federal leaderships and so forth.

SAWPY Assesses Albanian Anti-SFRY Propaganda

LD2410190588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1612 GMT 24 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Oct (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia is the constant target of the propaganda of the media of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. This is a significant aspect of the implementation of Tirana's anti-Yugoslav policy, it was stressed today in the SAWPY Information Committee vis a vis foreign countries.

Anti-Yugoslav propaganda has long been an Albanian strategic orientation. Ideological exclusiveness, the disavowal of all the values of the socialist self-managing system of the SFRY, and Greater Albanian nationalism, behind which lie (old) territorial ambitions, are its basis. In other words, this is certainly nothing new. What is striking in recent times is that Tirana is striving to disavow the SFRY in the propaganda sphere in its relations with neighboring Balkan countries, it was said at today's meeting.

The nonexistence of facts that would help the People's Socialist Republic of Albania as an argument in its propaganda "pinpricks" against Yugoslavia has been "completed" by the formation of a pact with the darkest Ustasha and other extremist circles in the ranks of the anti-Yugoslav emigration in the West. Everything has been done to implement the set goal.

Committee members pointed out that Yugoslavia has never had, and does not have any reason to defend itself against the Albanian propaganda machinery. On the contrary, the SFRY is an open country. Its international prestige is, to a large extent, ensured because of its policy of good-neighborliness. There is no need to prove what has been proved many times—like Albania's frivolous claims that the Albanian nationality in Yugoslavia is oppressed, when it is known that the SFRY continually receives recognition from foreign partners for its resolution of the question of national minorities in a way which serves as an example.

The committee concluded, among other things, that the SFRY is interested in reaffirming its own openness, and will consistently involve itself in promoting this. Thus the truth about Yugoslavia and about all its parts equally remains freely accessible to the world public.

CEMA Secretary Sychev Discusses Cooperation

Received by Dizdarevic

LD2210162488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1621 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Oct (TANJUG)—Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, today received CEMA Secretary Vyacheslav Sychev, who is visiting our country as the guest of the FEC. According to the SFRY Presidency, during the talks cooperation between Yugoslav-CEMA was assessed positively and their joint interest in improving relations on the principles of the the 1964 cooperation agreement expressed. President Dizdarevic pointed out the need to strengthen mutually advantageous cooperation in economic areas and stressed the interest of Yugoslav economic organizations in inclusion in individual technological development projects within CEMA on the basis of mutual adavanatge and economic interests. Reforms within CEMA and relations between CEMA and other international economic groups also were discussed. Jovo Panajotovic, a member of the FEC and the SFRY's permanent CEMA representative, and Budimir Lazovic [name as received], chairman of the SFRY's permanent CEMA mission, were present at the talks.

Holds Talks With Mikulic

LD2110194988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1609 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Oct (TANJUG)—FEC President Branko Mikulic and Vyacheslav Sychev, secretary of the CEMA Council, today characterized Yugoslav-CEMA cooperation as successful and called for promoting it even more. To this end, they stressed higher forms of economic cooperation must be developed.

Vyacheslav Sychev is on an official visit to our country and today's talks, apart from Branko Mikulic, were also attended by FEC member Jovan Panajotovic.

According to the FEC communique, Branko Mikulic said that the Yugoslav economy has realistic economic interests in more effective and expanded cooperation, in keeping with the established principles and on the basis of the existing agreement between the SFRY Government and the CEMA, as well as within the framework of the CEMA's new programs in the areas of energy, electronics, the agrocomplex, and new technology. He pointed out that Yugoslavia attaches special importance to participation by our work organizations in carrying out projects within the complex program of scientific-technical progress of the CEMA member countries until the year 2000.

V. Sychev, secretary of the CEMA Council, briefed FEC president Branko Mikulic on economic cooperation between the CEMA member countries and on questions connected with achieving the collective concept of international social division of labor of CEMA member countries in the period from 1991 to 2005.

Mikulic and Sychev exchanged views on Yugoslavia's and CEMA's relations with the European Community. In this connection, as quoted in the communique, special attention was devoted to economic cooperation in Europe after 1992. An opinion was voiced that cooperation between European countries and integration must be conducted as an all-European process, that Europe must be treated as a united continent and that possibilities should be explored for cooperation among the European countries in all areas, especially in economic relations, science, technology, ecology, transport, and other areas.

Branko Mikulic emphasized the SFRY's desire as a nonaligned European country to develop relations on an equal footing with European integrations and to become a part of the process of European economic integration which will begin in 1992, in such a way that its nonaligned status could become a bridge for even more successful cooperation both with CEMA and the European Community.

Received by Loncar

LD2210162888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1725 GMT 22 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Oct (TANJUG)—Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, received secretary V. Sychev today. According to the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, the talks concerned current world trends, particularly the development of integration processes in Europe and of perestroyka in CEMA. Views on ways of improving cooperation between Yugoslavia and

CEMA were exchanged, and the existence was noted jointly of considerable possibilities for its further expansion on the basis of mutual interest.

Meets With Vukadinovic

LD2110102288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1738 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Titograd, 20 Oct (TANJUG)—Vuko Vukadinovic, president of the Montenegrin Assembly Executive Council, today received Vyacheslav V. Sychev, secretary of CEMA, and exchanged views with him on current questions connected with the improvement of cooperation between Yugoslavia and CEMA.

Vukadinovic and Sychev considered in particular the participation of economic organizations and scientific institutions from Montenegro in the implementation of this cooperation program.

Comment on CEMA Links, Nonaligned Status

AU2210204288 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 22 Oct 88

[Dragan Colovic commentary]

[Text] The visit by Vyacheslav Sychev, CEMA secretary, to the SFRY happened to occur at a crucial moment when attempts are being made to overcome the general political, economic, and social crisis in Yugoslavia with the well-known three reforms. The CEMA members also face significant political and especially economic reforms and changes. Within this, the realization of the Comprehensive Program of Scientific and Technical Progress through the Year 2000 should play a great role in the transformation of their economies.

What is involved is 94 projects which in their comprehensive nature and significance may be compared with the Eureka program, whose realization has been embarked upon by the member countries of the second great European economic group, the EC, which has set the paths of economic integration by 1992.

As a European country, Yugoslavia is naturally interested in the realization of both the comprehensive program and Eureka, but in a way that will above all respect its nonaligned status, its status as a developing country, and the principles of equality and mutual benefit. The specific position of Yugoslavia in Europe of course is no obstacle to its wider inclusion in positive European processes, especially the economic processes, of course respecting the principles that we have mentioned above.

Bearing all this in mind, Vyacheslav Sychev's visit to Yugoslavia, as well as his talks with the highest Yugoslav leaders, should provide an incentive to making earlier agreements more quickly operational and achieving new agreements on the participation of Yugoslav enterprises in the implementation of the Comprehensive Program of Scientific and Technological Progress of CEMA Countries through the Year 2000.

This would undoubtedly contribute to solving the numerous economic problems that we face at the moment more efficiently. This is indicated by the fact that Yugoslav trade with CEMA countries accounted for over 40 percent of its overall trade in 1985, but the CEMA countries' share has now fallen to one third. The surplus that Yugoslavia earns in trade with the CEMA countries should not be a restriction to the development of overall economic relations as is the case now, but should on the contrary be another reason, and an encouragement, to a search for practical and purposeful solutions to this questions, through a further development not only of conventional trade but also of higher forms of cooperation, specialization, and cooperation.

In his talks with Yugoslav journalists last night, Vyacheslav Sychev confirmed something of this kind, highly appraising the ability of Yugoslav enterprises and institutes and their opportunities in the realization of the comprehensive program.

However, one should certainly bear in mind the question of time. How can good ideas and political agreements translated into concrete actions and business as soon as possible? It has been shown that the present ways, in which state organs had a predominating influence, have not yielded the best results. It is therefore encouraging that it is seen by both sides that attention should be focused on enterprises as the chief supports and implementors of economic cooperation, without the usual slowness of administration and the unnecessary interference of state organs in specific business affairs.

Commentary Assesses Soviet Political Reform

AU0510201488 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Oct 88 p 2

[Aleksandar Prlja commentary: "There Is No Fooling With Gorbachev"]

[Text] What was played out at the extraordinary session of the CPSU Central Committee for a little under 1 hour could characterize and even crucially influence all Soviet development during the whole decade. We have recently been writing in our newspaper columns that Gorbachev has been met with some resistance. This resistance, mingled with national unrest and the consequences of Stalin's strict and inhumane national policy could in principle threaten the whole undertaking of the renaissance called "perestroyka." It is easy to find confirmation of such thoughts in Gorbachev's statements to chief newspaper editors last week, several days prior to the latest plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. It should be said in passing that some of these editors are also not sufficiently honest and reliable in lending their support to the processes of revival and reorganization in all of the Soviet society and economy.

It can now be seen, more clearly than ever, that there really is no fooling with Mikhail Gorbachev. After the resignation, which was also officially tendered, by Gromyko 7 decades after the October Revolution, a man who previously played a key role in the election of an obscure personality like Chernenko to the very head of Lenin's party, much of the confusion is being cleared away. Since yesterday, Gorbachev has become both the head of the state and the head of the party. The trials in the face of "perestroyka" are such that changes must be so merciless and painful as the stage has been reached where the role of the personality has almost as much meaning and importance as it did at the time of the sailors' revolt in the Petrograd waters, for example, at a decisive time in the whole of recent Russian history. Had it not been for Lenin at that time—and this is admitted by all analysts regardless of their basic ideological and other standpoints—things would have turned out differently. Perhaps there would not even have been peace at Brest-Litovsk.

If events had continued which included personalities like Brezhnev and Chernenko, the USSR would have irretrievably fallen into the chasm of backwardness. This would have one day been impossible to rectify in relation to the "rest of the world." The historical material, moral, and technical backwardness, which as early as the beginning of the century turned the largest country in the world into easy prey for countries like Japan or even for lesser rivals in wars, would have somehow been repeated. The defeat in the international arena in 1905 most convincingly demonstrated this. In fact, examples of imperial impotence were numerous.

Some historical analogies are always welcome in life and the course of history, even if the socioeconomic denouement is played out so that a new, essentially changed society is born. This is the case to a certain extent now. The firm resolution and force of openness which are felt in everything that Gorbachev does are imbued with the ability to express all the crude and complex realities of Soviet daily life. In the history of Russia, there have often been periods of languor, of quiet mollification, and of prolonged decay. These were periods when court intrigues, or conflicts, turned into a curtain to conceal what was slowly disintegrating or to suppress healthy forces of renovation and quicker development. Then, as a rule, great leaps and bounds were made, in the spirit of the new reformers.

We have left out names in order not to take the risk of anyone thinking that we are mechanically comparing a great man "of old Russian history" and the head of the Communist Party of the USSR. Ideological analogies must be avoided, of course. However, the present action and determination of the head of the USSR can be assessed as the focus of the whole movement for a deep-rooted renovation of Soviet society. There is no going back and exaggerated concessions cannot be made, although, of course, account must be taken of the relationship among forces in policy. One must also consider the real dimensions of the difficult acceptability of a new policy which, among other things, threatens many acquired positions. To anyone who had carefully analyzed what Gorbachev said to the chief editors last week, this all must have seemed like the real introductory speech to the plenum which at that time was already in the final stage of preparation. In this speech, Gorbachev said, among other things, that "everything may come into question and the party may be lost." He was thinking directly of the resistance which has been uttered by provincial Soviet society, under the leadership of the likes of Brezhnev and Chernenko, and the resistance to modernization, more rational organization, and more efficient economic operations.

Some foreign analyses of what is now happening in Soviet life and particularly at the top, most frequently gravitate toward, as always, simplified and superficial musings about relationships and circumstances, primarily of the struggle of personalities in the leadership. The latest plenum of the CPSU Central Committee confirms, of course, that a lot can be observed from the arrangement, or re-arrangement, of the leading personalities. This was the case to a certain extent with the aged Gromyko and even more so with Igor Ligachev. Each of them in his own way expresses the paths of domestic and foreign policy and that attitude is losing influence, albeit step by step, in the face of unavoidable reforms.

However, it is more important to realize that Ligachev has nevertheless remained a member of the Politburo. He is only in the somewhat less influential but much more distasteful sector of agriculture. He has not, however, resorted to stepping down or to tendering his resignation. Everyone has the right to do that and everyone can, however politely, use that right. He remains, therefore, disciplined and loyal alongside the general secretary, many of whose ideas, especially concerning the speed of implementing reform, he obviously does not agree with.

However, it is easy to see the strength of Mikhail Gorbachev's position in this, even though there remains the great risk of the strong force of resistance to "perestroyka." One can also sense in this the expression of deeper processes which cannot of course be reduced to a clash of personalities at the top, as if the new arrangements are an aim in themselves. There was a lot of this in Brezhnev's time. However, one cannot consider that this interpretation of the high-level personnel arithmetic is what is leading Gorbachev in his attempts to "clear the air." This air has again begun to turn stale and fill up with obstructions, and hesitation, despite the burning and unresolved economic, political, and other problems.

However, Gorbachev is led by more significant and comprehensive aims. The legacy and influence which have for a large part been left to him by the former long-time head of state security, Andropov, as well as what he himself has added in "his" first few years, could make Gorbachev the strongest personality in Russian

and Soviet history perhaps from the 18th century to the present day. For now it is at least possible to say with certainty that there is no fooling with Gorbachev.

Iranian Economic Delegation Arrives for Talks

Discussions on Cooperation Open

LD1810061788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1453 GMT 17 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Oct (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav-Iranian Mixed Committee for Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation began its session today in Belgrade, presided over by the federal secretary for finance, Svetozar Rikanovic, and by the Iranian minister of economics and financial affairs, Mohammad Javad Iravani. Willingness on both sides and interest in expanding cooperation between the two countries and exploiting the new situation—the beginning of the peace process and the end of hostilities between Iraq and Iran—were expressed. After extensive talks in Belgrade an interest was demonstrated in removing all obstacles and obstructions to increasing trade between Yugoslavia and Iran and expanding cooperation in all areas, especially in developing higher forms of industrial cooperation and specialization.

Federal Secretary, Rikanovic stressed that Yugoslavia wants relations between Belgrade and Tehran to become an example of sound cooperation between the two friendly and nonaligned countries and the Yugoslavia is willing to take part in the reconstruction and rebuilding of Iran within its capabilities. He pointed out that Iran was among Yugoslavia's five most significant foreign trade partners in the ranks of the nonaligned and developing countries and that Yugoslavia wanted this cooperation to be at an even higher level than hitherto.

Iranian Minister Iravani expressed hopes that the session of the mixed committee in Belgrade would be used to establish more concrete forms of cooperation, but also to remove weaknesses and defects on both sides which have so far prevented a more notable expansion of trade. Iravani cited more concrete areas of cooperation and trade which Iran at the moment had an interest in, that negotiations were already under way with Gosa of Smederevska Palanka, the Ravne iron works; Energoinvest, TAM, Famos, and the 14 October works of Krusevac.

It was announced today that Yugoslav exports to Iran rose 8 percent in the first 8 months of this year compared to last year, and that 600,000 tons of oil had already been imported from Iran compared to 709,000 tons of oil imported in 1987. The overall volume of last year's trade amounted to $235 million. The Yugoslav-Iranian Committee for Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation continues its work in three commissions.

Iravani Visits Slovenia

LD1910195588 Tehran IRNA in English 1445 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, Oct. 19, IRNA—The Iranian economic delegation headed by Economic and Finance Minister Mohammed Javad Iravani visited Slovenia, Yugoslavia's most industrially developed republic, Wednesday.

The visit is within the framework of the 7th session of the joint Yugoslav-Iranian Economic Commission.

The 60-man delegation has already visited Sarajevo, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Novi Sad, Vojvodina Province.

Iravani held talks in Ljubljana, the Slovenian capital, with the Slovenian prime minister Dusan Sinigoj and economic representative Marko Bulc.

Slovenian enterprises last year exported goods to Iran worth dollars 21 million, while imports amounted to a only dollars 758,000

During the recent visit of the Iranian heavy industry delegation, the Ljubljana-based companies, Smelt and Idro, signed an agreement on opening a joint office in Tehran.

In today's discussions an air link between Yugoslavia and Iran through the Slovenian airline Adra airways was proposed. The route, if approved, would be Ljubljana-Tehran-Ljubljana via Larnaca, Cyprus.

Adra airways is the country's second biggest airline after the national carrier JAT. Negotiations between JAT and IRAN Air on the establishment of flights between Belgrade and Tehran flight [as received] have not yet shown results.

The Iranian delegation also visited the Slovenian electronics company Iskra-Telematika in Kranj, near Ljubljana.

In also paid a visit to the 400-year-old Gazi Husrevbeg Islamic Library and mosque as well as the Islamic Theological School in Sarajevo. Sarajevo is the center of Islamic culture in Yugoslavia.

Iravani is scheduled to resume talks with top-level officials in Belgrade prior to the signing of the joint commission's final agreement expected on Friday.

Dizdarevic, Iravani Hold Talks

LD2110192788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1526 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Oct (TANJUG)—Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, today received Mohammad Javad Iravani, Iranian minister of economic affairs and finance who is visiting our country at the FEC's invitation. Minister Iravani handed to President Dizdarevic a written message froms Iranian President Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i which, among other things,

expresses Iran's readiness for even more intensive and comprehensive bilateral cooperation, as a basis for the further consolidation of friendly ties between the Iranian and Yugoslav peoples.

In a friendly meeting, the two sides noted with satisfaction that, within the framework of traditionally good bilateral relations, even more favorable conditions have been created today for strengthening all aspects of cooperation. Particular stress was put on very favorable possibilities for the development of economic cooperation, bearing in mind the complementary nature of the economies of the two countries and their readiness to use this advantage to the maximum. In this connection, Dizdarevic and Iravani noted that the agreements reached in the past few days within the framework of the mixed Yugoslav-Iranian commission open up prospects for a considerable expansion of economic and other aspects of cooperation.

Minister Iravani briefed his host on developments in the Iran-iraq peace talks, stressing in this connection Iran's resolute desire to achieve permanent peace in the region.

The meeting was also attended by Svetozar Rikanovic, federal secretary for finance, and Mohammad Javad Asayesh-Zarchi, Iranian ambassador to the SFRY.

Mikulic Receives Iravani

LD2110020388 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1715 GMT 20 Oct 88

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, October 20 (TANJUG)—Iran wants conditions to be created for a lasting and stable peace with Iraq through the implementation of U.N. Resolution 598, Iranian Minister of Economic Affairs and Finance Mohammad Javad Iravani today said in a talk with Yugoslav Premier Brano Mikulic.

Iravani, who is heading the Iranian delegation at the session of the Yugoslav-Iranian Committee for Economic, Scientific and Technical cooperation, informed Mikulic of the course of the Iranian-Iraqi peace talks being held in Geneva under U.N. auspices.

Iravani expressed satisfaction that the ninth summit of the non-aligned would take place next September in Yugoslavia in which Iran, like many other non-aligned countries, has full confidence.

Mikulic and Iravani stressed it was necessary to enrich the forms of work and activities of the Non-Aligned Movement in order to make it more dynamic and effective in solving major international problems.

Mikulic and Iravani assessed the two countries' economic cooperation as developing successfully and said real possibilities existed for doubling trade. Yugoslav-Iranian trade last year reached 255.7 million dollars. Yugoslav exports accounted for 97.8 million dollars and recorded a 36 per cent increase over 1986, while imports from Iran accounted for 157.9 million dollars, a 15 per cent decrease over 1986.

Mikulic and Iravani pointed out that the complementary nature of the two countries' economies offer possibilities for developing higher forms of economic cooperation such as joint work on development projects and joint appearances on third markets.

Iravani expressed the wish for Yugoslav firms to engage themselves in the construction of capital investment projects in Iran.

Trade Agreement Signed

LD2110194188 Tehran IRNA in English 1840 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, October 21. IRNA—Yugoslavia will buy a minimum of one million tonnes of oil from Iran according to a trade agreement signed in Belgrade today.

The agreement was signed at the close of the 7th session of the Yugoslav-Iran economic commission in Belgrade on Friday. The Iranian delegation was led by Economic and Finance Minister Mohammad Javad Iravani.

In talks with Yugoslav Finance Minister Svetozar Rikanovic, both sides expressed satisfaction with the development.

According to the trade agreement, the value of non-oil imports by Yugoslavia will equal one quarter of the country's exports to Iran.

Iran has expressed interest in expanding Iran-Yugoslav cooperation in agro-industries, an Iranian delegate told IRNA.

Iravani, who arrived here last Monday, met with Yugoslav President Raif Dizdarevic, Premier Branko Mikulic, Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar and the Yugoslav foreign trade and transport ministers.

In the course of his visit he toured the Republics of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Slovenia and the Province of Vojvodina.

The Iranian delegation left Belgrade for Tehran later Friday.